ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

B44
1219890

Bent

Ballyhoo

ANNEX

DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS FROM POCKET

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN COUNTY, IND.

ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

If "Ballyhoo" Is Not in Your Dictionary

My dear Mr. Bent:

The term *ballyhoo* is a contraction of *Ballyhooly,* which is a proper name that designates a village east of Mallow in Cork County, Ireland. The village was long famous for its party fights, and to give or to get *Ballyhooly* was to berate or be berated.

Ballyhoo as a noun has been said to be synonymous with *barker* in the slang sense of this word—one who stands outside the entrance of the side shows of a circus and attracts an audience by exaggerated claims of the novelties within the side show—for instance, "Walk in, ladies and gentlemen, walk in and see a live lion stuffed with straw; the only living specimen of that marvellous mastodon, the gyascutus. Also, the greatest curiosity of modern times, a horse with his head where his tail ought to be."

The *barker* himself is sometimes called a *ballyhoo,* as well as the speech or talk that he raucously declaims. *Ballyhoo* is also used as a substitute in such expressions as, "Go to Ballyhoo," being the equivalent of "Go to Halifax," "Go to Ballyhack," or "Go to the dickens," which, in the vernacular, is expressed still more forcibly.

Frank H. Vizetelly,
Managing Editor, New Standard Dictionary.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_S0-BLA-041

COP, SHOT, KILLS GUNMAN

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Story on Page 2

The ONLY COMPLETE TABLOID NEWSPAPER in AMERICA

NEW YORK
EVENING GRAPHIC

★★★★★
Final Edition

Vol. 3. No. 772. Copyright, 1927, by Daily Graphic, Incorporated. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1927 Entered as second-class matter Post Office, New York, N. Y. 2 Cents In City Limits | 3 CENTS Elsewhere

RUDY MEETS CARUSO
TENOR'S SPIRIT SPEAKS!

HOW VALENTINO'S SPIRIT MET CARUSO. The film star, according to his wife, Natacha Rambova, who says she received his spirit messages, met Enrico Caruso, the great tenor, soon after reaching the great beyond. The above compositograph is prepared from a description of Rudy's messages taken down by George Wehner, the psychic. It shows Rudy and Caruso watching a spirit audience from a lower plane about to greet a troup of spirit actors who play in spirit world theaters. Valentino and Caruso are staying the new world together.

(Story on Page 3.)

Gang Queen and 4 Men Held After Police Seize 'Dope' Outfit and Guns in Raid—Story on Page 2

Rudolph Valentino and Enrico Caruso pictured for the tabloid Graphic *in celestial togas. This "story" was sold for serial publication by the Doubleday, Page Syndicate.*

BALLYHOO

THE VOICE OF THE PRESS

BY

SILAS BENT

ILLUSTRATED

NEW YORK
BONI AND LIVERIGHT
1927

COPYRIGHT 1927 :: BY
BONI & LIVERIGHT, INC.
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES

First Printing, October, 1927
Second Printing, December, 1927

1219890

To
My Mother

CONTENTS

PAGE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xi

INTRODUCTION xiii

CHAPTER

I. THE ART OF BALLYHOO 21
Salesmanship and Showmanship in the Press

II. THE INVASION OF PRIVACY 46
"Fictionized" News and the "Right of Castle"

III. WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE 73
Goose-stepping for the Administration

IV. REPORTERS: THEN AND NOW 94
Is the Adventurer Becoming a Machine?

V. THE "BETTER HALF" OF NEWS 121
How Free Publicity Crashes the Gate

VI. CHANGING NEWSPAPER MORALITY 150
Pulitzer, Hearst, Ochs, and Their Influences

VII. TABLOID PICTURE PAPERS 180
Legitimate Heirs of the Fourth Estate

VIII. THE "BUTTER AND EGG MAN" OF THE NEWS . 199
Advertisers' Influence on a Daily Commodity

IX. "FOR THE PREVENTION OF READING" . . 226
The Sunday Paper's Influence on American Life

X. JOURNALISM AS BIG BUSINESS 245
Standardization and Mass Production

XI. THE SCRIPPS-HOWARD GROUP 269
A Chain with Local Editorial Autonomy

CHAPTER PAGE

XII. Radio as a Rival 295
A New Channel of News and Advertising

XIII. Priestliness in the Press 316
Like the Church in Pretences and Functions

XIV. Press and State 338
A Public Utility's "Guarantee" of Freedom

XV. Press and State 353
Commercialism versus *Liberty*

Index 381

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

"Rudy Meets Caruso!" . . . . . *Frontispiece*

OPPOSITE PAGE

The Aviation Ballyhoo 36

The Stars and Stripes Make Page One 40

Exploiting a Mother's Grief 70

Teapot Dome 90

Democracy's Tribute to Royalty 126

In the Electric Chair 156

The First Picture Paper 182

The First Tabloid Daily 186

"Newsvertising" 200

Features 228

For Sale: Newspaper Readers 236

Radio Readers—and Revenue 304

A Crusader's Triumph 332

The Biggest News Day, and a Prize Fight 372

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much of the material in this book was gathered in preparation for lectures at the New School for Social Research, New York City. Parts of it have appeared in the *Nation,* the *Yale Review,* the *Century,* the *Independent, Plain Talk,* the *North American Review* and *Harper's.* For suggestions and for generous help with the proofs I am indebted to Horace M. Kallen and Terry Ramsaye.

INTRODUCTION

This book is not a history, but a conspectus of modern metropolitan newspapers in the United States. Primarily it is concerned with marked changes which have come to them during this generation. For much of the material I have had to go to original sources, to pamphlets and trade journals. Similar material has not been brought together, so far as I know, to clarify the dimensions, status and power of an institution unquestionably of primary importance in modern life.

Several factors which have helped to shape Twentieth Century journalism are rooted in a more distant past. The tradition of a free press, for example, dates back to the Revolution; the organization of political censorship is an outgrowth from semi-official organs established by Hamilton and Jefferson; the conventions which govern news selection and presentation had their beginnings in the penny press of the thirties; and notable changes in the industrial plant began in the eighties. It is impossible to ignore these currents, which can be traced through a considerable library dealing with newspapers. But the means by which these currents have been deflected, strengthened or counteracted, by the play of economic pressures and by other important agencies, have not received adequate attention.

Mass production and mass literacy might have been

expected, in combination with the advertiser's demand for larger and larger circulations, to work radical changes in the newspaper. But these alone cannot be held to account for its present character. They could not have influenced it so profoundly if the American people had possessed a solid body of tradition. We demand that youth, not experience, shall be served. Neither in the press nor among the people has there been handed down from generation to generation a continuing oral or written testament of customs, opinions, doctrines, wisdoms. In the absence of this constant, press and people are unstable, mentally and emotionally. With no steadying anchor in the past, naïve newspaper readers are swayed by every breath of suggestion. The newspaper editor, one supposes, should be less helpless, yet he is not immune. He himself falls prey to the hysteria he foments. The distinguishing characteristic of the press to-day betrays his vulnerability. The distinguishing characteristic is ballyhoo; and the newspaper man is its victim as well as its impresario. Occasionally the victim resists. A Republican organ, withdrawing its correspondent from Mr. Coolidge's Summer camp, declared that the President's vacation was "the most over-reported event in secular history." But such revulsions are rare.

Born in the Spanish-American War, ballyhoo did not begin to wax grotesque until the World War had nursed an abnormal appetite for sensation. These two wars were the architects of a gargoyle journalism. They did not create the materials nor direct the builders, but they set the pattern. If our newspapers have a fantastic and

leering look to any sober eye, these crises may be held to blame. They are mainly responsible for lop-sided sport sections, wherein the reader vicariously achieves prodigies of prowess and valor. They are at the bottom of an unregulated volume of propaganda and free publicity. They are responsible in part at least for the dubious nature of newspaper advertising. Their unresisted corrupt influence has misdirected the energies of the American press and deformed its output. Ballyhoo is exploited as an emotional equivalent of war.

Nor has the phenomenon been confined to the metropolitan press, with which this book deals. The newspapers in forty or fifty of our largest cities are the springs of all the general news we read. Ten centres dominate the feature field. We have seventy-five cities, to be sure, of more than one hundred thousand population; but it cannot be said that Spokane, Utica and Yonkers wield great power in journalism. Four of the five cities having more than a million people exert greater influence than the remaining three score and ten. If you add to these four —New York, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia—Washington, Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, New Orleans and San Francisco, nearly all but the strictly local "reading matter" is pretty well accounted for. The run of news is syndicated to papers large and small. So are illustrations, fiction, comic strips, even editorials. Syndicated matter has come more and more to be the daily bread of the small-town newspaper. In communities of ten to fifty thousand the screaming advertisement and the shrieking headline are a commonplace. The metropolitan press is the metro-

nome and the tuning fork of the other dailies in this country. It sets the pace and strikes the key in the national diapason of romance, sex and crime.

Romance, as presented in the prince-and-peasant story or the prize ring; sex, as exploited in murder trials and the divorce courts; these and "waves" of crime are indispensable to the ballyhoo of news. Reference to them will recur frequently in this book. They are the meat the American Caesar feeds on. They are his diurnal literature.

The most striking modifications in this highly seasoned bill of fare have come since I entered newspaper work a quarter of a century ago. I have observed them at first hand; and it may not be amiss to note here my main posts of vantage, which included Pulitzer, Hearst and Ochs newspapers. In Louisville I worked as a reporter for the *Herald,* now defunct, and the *Times;* in St. Louis for the *Post-Dispatch* and the *Republic,* the latter since merged into the *Globe-Democrat;* in Chicago for the *Evening American;* in New York for the *Herald* and *Tribune,* now combined, the *World* and the *Times.* This service, however, was not continuous. I left the *Post-Dispatch* to teach in the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, and there for the first time looked at the newspaper field as a whole. In Chicago I was for two years on the publicity staff of a banking reform league, which went out of existence, its work accomplished, when the present Federal Reserve Act was assured of passage. After resigning from the Sunday staff of the *New York Times* I had charge of newspaper and maga-

zine publicity for the Democratic National Committee in the Presidential campaign of 1920. Thus I had an opportunity to see how legislation and national elections are swayed by the drive of publicity agencies upon the press.

Not until I became a magazine editor and then a free lance writer did I sense the significance of what had been going on around me. Many newspaper men cannot see the forest for the trees. Others, perceiving that the forest is very like a jungle, are silenced by the obligations imposed in earning a livelihood, and by the kind of group loyalty common to nearly all crafts. Widespread and oftentimes violent denunciation of the press has served to intensify this loyalty. The man who helps to make the daily newspaper is silent when the attacks are stupid and ignorant, but vocally resentful and scornful when they are grounded in fact. I hardly dare hope that this book will please either him or his most unsparing critics.

Journalistic silence and resentment are themselves unhealthy symptoms. The agency upon which we depend for daily light on the world's doings is not in character when it shrinks from the light. If the newspaper is but human and frail, why not take stock of its faults? Perhaps it will cry with Markheim—

> I was born and I have lived in a land of giants; giants have dragged me about by the wrists since I was born out of my mother—the giants of circumstance.

The giants of war, machine production and a public school system have dragged the American newspaper unresisting by the wrists. But it is now a giant as great as

all of them. If it continues to be dragged about, can it cry any longer that circumstances are to blame? It needs to pull itself together. It needs to be its age.

American newspaper with this topic accounts in part for a sort of perpetual adolescence found characteristic of its readers. The trait is manifested not only in the avidity with which pornographic detail is devoured, but in the glorification of short-lived newspaper idols. The truth is that the press has developed this characteristic while developing a new technique of salesmanship and showmanship. It has evolved new methods of display. Just as a shop may devote its entire show window to a single enchanting fur, so the press concentrates public attention on a single thrilling news event, even at the expense of other more important happenings.

Not always is this discreditable. Every one must have observed during recent years an outcropping of stories dealing with the world's scientific advance. Television and osiso have supplied first-page material; a short while ago they would have been delegated to the weekly and monthly magazines. Radio telephony is but an extension of electrical principles and appliances with which the public has been made familiar, but the first transatlantic conversations got more newspaper space, easily by one-hundredfold, than the discovery of radium in 1898, although that discovery shook the scientific world, and upset forever the "law" that matter was inert. The circulation manager of one great New York newspaper has asserted with confidence that scientific news sells more papers than a good crime mystery.

The reason for this is not far to seek. The people of this country, having vanquished the last frontier and having achieved a commanding eminence as a world power,

politically and financially, have turned in upon themselves. The extravert is manifesting some of the attributes of the introvert, if I may venture to employ what Dr. Ira S. Wile (himself a psychologist) has called "the transcendental nomenclature" of warring psychological sects. In the recognition of this change of base newspaper publishers have been far tardier than the publishers of books. Long before scientific news (excepting possibly eclipses of the sun) had a fair showing in our papers, the Homeric musings of Henri Fabre on the insect world were being translated and greedily enjoyed on this side of the water. Outlines of history, of literature and of philosophy; biographies, and popularized expositions of technical subjects, sold on a comparatively large scale long before the daily press awoke to this new appetite.

Even then the awakening was partly due to the skillful manœuvres of press agents, who enabled the man of science to meet the newspaper reporter on a common ground, without fear on one side of being made to look ridiculous, on the other side of having the heart cut out of any story submitted for a visé. The publicity man, familiar with news values and familiar from intensive study with the scientist's work, proved in this instance a valuable intermediary. Employed as a rule by a college, university or commercial research laboratory, he acted as a reportorial auxiliary. It is about the best thing that can be said for him. The practices of the guild as a whole have been of such doubtful character that a movement has been set afoot to professionalize it and establish a code of ethics: that is, to put upon a higher plane what newspaper men are

wont to call space-grabbing, and to sanctify the ballyhoo of commercial commodities.

II

Never do the events, policies, possibilities and movements with which the press concerns itself represent a cross-section of existence at one moment, or for one day. William James has put before us in a vivid passage the disjointed order of the world. "While I talk and the flies buzz," he said, "a sea-gull catches a fish at the mouth of the Amazon, a tree falls in the Adirondack wilderness, a man sneezes in Germany, a horse dies in Tartary, and twins are born in France." He was making the point that mere contemporaneity of events forms no rational bond between them, and that we are forced to break them into definite sequences and tendencies: into histories, into arts, into sciences. Newspapers break them also, these chaotic happenings of the world, into certain patterns. None of the incidents James thought worth mentioning is newspaper news, excepting that the birth of twins might have been chronicled in a French provincial journal. If the twins had been born to the Queen of Spain, the news would have been put upon the cable. Evidently the newspaper man is governed by certain codes and standards which, although gradually variable, are potent and widely prevalent while they are in effect. Day after day one may note a certain sameness in the press: a sameness, not of content, but of effect. The effect is produced by a process of selection and emphasis. In this second quarter

of the Twentieth Century ballyhoo is a noteworthy part of the process.

At the beginning of this century the Associated Press undertook to lay a measuring-stick along the commodity it was gathering and distributing. It attempted to instruct its correspondents by rule of thumb. Business failures were to be reported when in excess of $10,000; strikes, when the number of employés thrown out of work exceeded two hundred; accidents, when two or more lives were lost, and so on through a long list. The Associated Press has now ceased trying to grade news according to property values and loss of life. It no longer issues those instructions, presumably because the inflation of certain intangibles in the news has made such a gauge all but valueless.

Now, every layman knows what news is as it relates to him. It may be that an acquaintance has moved into an apartment around the corner, it may be a case of whooping cough, it may be the arrival of the first robin redbreast in Spring; it may be as negligible, from the newspaper standpoint, as any of the happenings William James noted. If we were asked to define this kind of news, we might say that it is fresh tidings touching our mental or social or emotional selves. Commonly it is called gossip. Dorothy Dix says that the stuff we read in the daily press is a sort of glorified gossip. It is glorified, if that is the word, by being selected with reference to mass and class, chiefly with reference to mass.

This has given rise to the paradox that, although the manipulation of news is a highly conventionalized craft,

newspaper men are seldom able to define the commodity they handle. I think they are unable to define it because in selecting and presenting it they appeal to unconscious primary emotions and satisfy or stimulate primitive appetites. Thus they themselves function in part unconsciously. The elder Joseph Pulitzer, who thought more clearly about what he was doing, I suspect, than most of his successors, once dictated for a subordinate a memorandum which dealt acutely and comprehensively with the kind of news he thought a metropolitan daily should seek.

What is original [he wrote], distinctive, dramatic, romantic, thrilling, unique, curious, quaint, humorous, odd, apt to be talked about, without shocking good taste or lowering the general tone, good tone, and above all without impairing the confidence of the people in the truth of the stories or the character of the paper for reliability and scrupulous cleanness.

That was not all Pulitzer thought a newspaper should print. He was a great crusader. He told his men never to be satisfied with mere news, and he was capable of directing the preparation of a full-page editorial which in itself would be distinguished news. So far as routine news is concerned, the cat is now out of the bag. I beg you to note that nowhere in this memorandum did Pulitzer designate social importance or economic or historical magnitude as a factor. The paper which follows his prescription, and most of them do, need not instruct nor inform us.

The elder James Gordon Bennett, father of yellow

journalism in this country (although his offspring was not christened until the Hearst-Pulitzer war gave it new vitality), was fond of saying that the newspaper's function was not to instruct but to startle. If he had added that a part of its function was to entertain, he would have covered his ground. The favorite Bennett-Pulitzer-Hearst brand of trivia has the quality of fire-crackers. It both surprises and amuses. It is pyrotechnic, and sometimes, like a Roman candle or a rocket, arouses naïve wonder and delight.

This is news in lighter vein. The heavier stuff must deal with sex, violence, conflict, mystery or suspense: one of these, or a combination of them. Metropolitan newspapers, according to this formula, need not contain a line of useful information. Only casually do they make us aware of the unseen world. A member of the Pulitzer staff, on the basis of a questionnaire sent to editors of national reputation, selected the ten biggest stories of 1926 (all of which fitted neatly into the Pulitzer formula), and noted the significant fact that only four of the ten stories were of any real social or historical consequence: the general strike in England, Mexico's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church, and two transpolar flights. This gave an authentic informational value of forty per cent to the big news of a year. But observe, if you please, that the polar expeditions had the thrill of romance, suspense and danger; that the Mexican story involved religious strife, which is always good newspaper-selling stuff; and that the strike in England had to a high degree the dramatic quality of conflict. Readers of

the daily press must jump for joy at such crumbs of significant information about their invisible environment as come their way.

III

We need not go here into the newspaper as an avenue of advertising ballyhoo. It is enough for the present to say that automobile manufacturers have gravely discussed the need of a "czar" for their industry, to set a mete and a bound on their claims. Sales managers, for instance, complained that the boasts of mounting production had caused prospective purchasers to pause, in the hope of heavy inventories and lower prices. Advertisements intended to convince the public that this or that car was becoming immensely popular tended to defeat themselves. Ballyhoo often has this boomerang reaction. Editorial soul-searchings take the form of doubts as to whether a current story has been overplayed, and downright despair at the protest of the Constant Reader.

Nor need we pause here for discussion of "feature" inflation, which has come about chiefly to lighten the load of advertisements the Sunday papers must carry. The very boastfulness of the press is a naïve ballyhoo. It prints unblushingly praiseful letters from its readers, who know that this is an easy way of getting their names before the public eye. It prints also its own pæans to itself. The Chicago *Tribune* avers that it is "the world's greatest newspaper," the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* that it is "first in everything," the morning and afternoon *Sun* that Baltimoreans don't say "newspaper," they say "*Sun-*

paper," the Detroit *News* that it is "the HOME newspaper," the *World* that it has "the best written feature page in American journalism." I am concerned at the moment not with these forms, but with the phenomenon as it is to be found in the news columns. Before we go further we may look for a moment at the reported "suicide wave" among school and college students. This did not run to such great lengths as were threatened before a damper was applied from an unexpected quarter; but while it ran the going was fine, from the newspaper standpoint. It will serve very well as an illustration of the origin and development of a fortuitous ballyhoo.

Two students, sons of men nationally known, destroyed themselves within a brief period. This was enough to set the press casting about for an epidemic of such suicides. Obscure cases at a distance, which would have been ignored in ordinary circumstances, suddenly assumed first-page importance. Each new instance was blazoned as an addition to the "suicide wave" among students.

"We have waves of news," says William Lewis Butcher of the New York State Crime Commission, "and we think we are having waves of crime." This passage of the report of his subcommission, which studied the relation of the daily press to crime and the administration of justice, is worth quoting more at length, as bearing on the wave of news about student suicides.

The average person is always unduly impressed by that which is prominently displayed and which has unusual attendant circumstances or which has been brought vividly to his attention in some other way. Consequently, the

average reader of newspapers is often-times led to the belief that a crime wave is in progress because he has been reading an unusual amount of crime news. This distributive tendency is largely the result of the exigencies of the newspaper business. Crime news is an ever present source of newspaper "copy." It can be used when other sorts of news are not readily available. It is probable that if careful compilation should be made of the actual number of crimes committed over a period of weeks and months, and if this should be compared with the amount of crime news published during the same period, it would be found that the amount of news bore no direct relation at all to the actual amount of crime.

Such a comparison is precisely what was made in regard to the so-called "suicide wave" among students. A statistician for a life insurance company stepped forward coolly with the facts, showing that in truth the percentage of suicides among persons under twenty years of age had been falling off for sixteen years, the period covered by his investigation. Instead of a "wave" there was a subsidence. No newspaper had the good grace to display this significant utterance as prominently as it had displayed student suicides, so far as my extended observation went. Some of them printed it as a "shirt-tail" to a current suicide. Meanwhile the editors of Sunday supplements had been interviewing psychoanalysts, preachers, deans of colleges, physicians and professors about the "wave." Was it a post-war neurosis? Was the break-up of the home to blame? Was prohibition, mayhap, at the bottom of it? If not, what have you? All this pother, mark you, about a phenomenon which was no phenomenon because it did not exist, as any newspaper could have in-

formed itself. The papers were less concerned with the truth than with preying upon the fears of a multitude of parents, and suggesting self-destruction to an extremely suggestible part of the population. A thirteen-year-old school boy hanged himself at the height of this ballyhoo, and a physician who investigated the case said that clearly it was imitative. The boy had succumbed to newspaper suggestion; and a part of the press was so callous as to headline the tragedy as "imitative" suicide.

The statistician's statement had the effect, at the height of the hysteria, of a bucket of cold water. But the press could not with dignity, or would not, stop discussion of student suicides. The more self-respecting newspapers stopped speaking of them as an epidemic or wave. Had the ballyhoo been permitted to continue, there would indeed have been a wave. And it would have come as the result of a circulation-building stunt.

The "suicide wave" was fortuitous, as I have said. Newspaper publishers count such incidents as windfalls in their trafficking for mass attention. There are certain kinds of news which are a stand-by of the circulation go-getters; sports rank in the forefront of these.

M. W. Bingay, managing editor of the Detroit *News,* once said that the editors created the Frankenstein monster of public interest in sports and then worshipped their handiwork. Will Owen Jones, editor of the Lincoln (Nebraska) *State Journal,* as chairman of a committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, reported in 1927 that a fair standard of pay for sport writers would do much to eliminate venality. His committee had in-

vestigated more than one hundred newspapers, showing that an average of ten columns daily was devoted to sports, with twice or thrice as much on Sundays. One-half of these papers were giving more than fifteen per cent of their reader space to this sort of matter, and the percentages ran as high as forty and fifty.

Some have "no limit" to the space devoted to sports [the report said] while the editors of other papers admit that they try to prevent their sporting departments from "going hog wild" but are quite worn out with the process.

The amazing efflorescence of free publicity for paid sports has come within the last fifteen years. The sporting editor has extended his domain from a column or two through whole pages and whole sections. I confess a weakness for prize-fights, baseball and racing *as spectacles;* as subjects of newspaper reading matter I can do without them. Yet in any catalogue of news this sort of stuff ranks second. Only business overtops it—and not even business in some papers. Business may be the first interest of the American people, but I venture to dispute that measurements of biceps and dope on selling platers is the second. This is quite obviously a cultivated, an artificial appetite. The newspapers have bred a sport fandom to build a circulation of dubious value. There are at least 166 morning dailies in this country, praise be, which do not print odds on horse races, nor guesses as to which will win this race or that. Those that continue to do so must pay a price in the loss of public respect. *Editor and*

Publisher, a weekly paper about newspapers, has spoken its mind on this subject. Let me quote from an editorial:

Is a newspaper in any wise justified in publishing "selections," which in effect means that a dopester in the employ of the paper is attempting to "sell" horses to readers?

Is the circulation gained worth the expense of the wire service, composition and first-page displays, crowding legitimate news from the best editions of the evening papers?

Is this good circulation? . . .

Is horse racing, as at present constituted in this country, a huge bunk of a gullible public? . . . Does race news pay?

This house organ of the press has been no less candid in its condemnation of the methods by which newspapers whip up interest in prize-fights, and give acres of free space to commercial enterprises of dubious character. I will wish to return in a later chapter to this topic. Dempsey the Mauler, never better than a second-rate pugilist because he never learned how to defend himself, is apotheosized in a *World* editorial as "a sort of legend with us, a superhuman colossus of brawn"; as "likable" and "picturesque," although he maintained his title for years chiefly by a studious avoidance of the prize ring. The *New York Times* asserts editorially that Babe Ruth "wears the laurel amid the deafening plaudits of the American nation" because he knocked three home runs in a World Series game.

For certain screen stars the ballyhoo has been almost as loud. Much comment was caused by the difference in

space accorded by the press to the concurrent death and funeral of Rudolph Valentino and Dr. Charles W. Eliot. The President Emeritus of Harvard, commonly called our first citizen, got perhaps one line to the movie sheik's column in the newspapers. But how, newspaper men may ask you, is the press to megaphone the death of a former college president? How many newspaper readers were familiar with Doctor Eliot's name? How ballyhoo an intellect? For Valentino there were mobs, riots and a press agent. Q. E. D.

So many letters of protest flowed in on the press during the Valentino vociferation that one newspaper felt moved to offer editorial justification of the space accorded to the occasion; and its justification (precisely as in the later furore over a transatlantic flight) was that the behavior of the crowd afforded a remarkable insight into mob psychology. The picture thus conjured up, of metropolitan news editors poring over the pages of Tarde, Le Bon, Trotter, Kallen and Everett Dean Martin, in order to determine the precise significance, and therefore the number of columns to be allotted to the rioting and smashing of a plate glass window at the Valentino undertaking "parlor," is illuminating. Newspapers, be it understood, do not pander to the crowd, but afford an opportunity for study of its psychology.

Incidents such as this are reminiscent of the "compassionate superiority" noted by Matthew Arnold as characteristic of the London *Times*. What he said may be repeated here as applying to our most eminent American journals. Our metropolitan daily press is "a gigantic

Sancho Panza, following by an attraction he cannot resist that poor, mad, scorned, suffering, sublime enthusiast, the modern spirit: following it, indeed, with constant grumblings, expostulation, and opposition, with airs of protection, of compassionate superiority, with an incessant by-play of nods, shrugs and winks addressed to the spectators; following it, in short, with all the incurable recalcitrancy of a lower nature, but still following it."

Following, not leading; following with winks and grimaces, in order to study its psychology, whether the path be to the bier of a movie sheik or the murder trial of a corset salesman.

121989

IV

Charles A. Lindbergh's flight from New York to Paris, and the subsequent flight to Berlin of Clarence Chamberlin with Charles A. Levine as passenger, provoked a striking journalistic demonstration. Lindbergh was young, good-looking and modest. He went it alone, and he set a new distance record until Chamberlin surpassed it two weeks later. Neither was the first to make a transatlantic flight in a heavier-than-air machine. The palm for that had gone eight years earlier, June 15-16, 1919, to Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown. Their flight, an historic occasion, unquestionably merited a great deal of newspaper attention; but it was not so momentous, to my notion, as Louis Bleriot's hop across the English Channel in 1909, when flying was still in its pinfeathers. To get off the ground in an airplane in that day was an adventure. Improvements in the motor and

the machine, and the hazardous exploits of World War aces, took the edge off the spectacle. Aviation ceased to astound the sophisticated.

Yet even before Lindbergh accomplished his goal, when he had merely set out from Long Island, the newspapers of this country set up such a bombination as might greet a world-shaking event. For days the press had been whetting the public appetite for this thrill, whether Richard E. Byrd or Lindbergh or some other supplied it. The appetite grew by what it fed on. This much at least newspaper men knew about mass psychology. To the mere hop-off by Lindbergh the *New York Times* gave three first-page eight-column streamers, and thirty-seven columns of space, including more than a page of pictures, while it could spare but one column to a jail sentence for Harry F. Sinclair, millionaire prime mover in the Teapot Dome scandal. The successful completion of the flight moved the Cincinnati *Post* to a two-line first-page block letter headline five and one-half inches in height.

The return of the aviator to this country provoked even more surprising typographic and photographic orgies. In a single Sunday issue of one paper there were one hundred columns of text and pictures about this flier. In reporting his welcome by New York City, the *Times* used fifteen pages, the *American* ten, the *Herald Tribune* nine, the *World* eight, the *Mirror* and *News,* which are tabloids, twenty-three and sixteen pages respectively. The *Times,* which had devoted three pages of its Sunday rotogravure section to the double Armistice celebration (the celebration of the premature and of the correct report that the World

The World

VOL. LXXII. NO. 24,616—DAILY NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1927. TWO CENTS

LINDBERGH FAR BEYOND NEWFOUNDLAND; CHAMBERLIN PLANS START AT DAWN

CUT-OFF DEVICE LAW INVALID, IS COURT DECISION

Lowman Named for Dry Job As Andrews's Successor

Former Lieutenant Governor of New York To Be Assistant Treasury Secretary

WRIT DETAINING BELLANCA PLANE LIFTED BY COURT

Flyer's Start, and Route to Spot Where Last Sighted

RADIO BRINGS NO WORD OF BOATS ON LONE FLYER

"Flyin' Fool" Without Even His Kitten as Companion, Covers 1,100 Miles in 12 Hrs.

Pass at Midnight To-Night If Luck Holds — Will Have Had But 2 Hours' Sleep in the Preceding 64

EXTRA The Post EXTRA

ONLY CINCINNATI NEWSPAPER RECEIVING WORLD WIDE NEWS SERVICE OF THE UNITED PRESS

VOL. 21 NO. 120 CINCINNATI, SATURDAY MAY 21, 1927 TWO CENTS

"LUCKY" LANDS IN PARIS. SAFE

TRUTH'S PHONE NUMBER 999

The Elkhart Truth

CIRCULATION OVER 13,000

VOL. XXXVIII—NO. 152. ELKHART, INDIANA, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29, 1927. 4 O'CLOCK EDITION—PRICE 2 CENTS

ARMY PLANE SPANS PACIFIC

BYRD FLYING OVER ATLANTIC

Maitland and His Pal Land at Honolulu

STEPHENSON AGAIN READY TO 'TELL ALL'

Radio Records Byrd's Progress

TAKES OFF WITH THREE COMRADES, FRANCE HIS GOAL

Long-Delayed Scientific Flight Finally Begun Despite Adverse Weather Reports; Persist Rotor Here Will

Manhattan had no monopoly of the aviation ballyhoo. Here are shown how World *celebrated the Lindbergh hop-off, the Cincinnati* Post *his achieven and how the Elkhart (Ind.)* Truth *followed suit in the army and navy fl*

War was ended), devoted that number on two different occasions to Lindbergh, and to his home-coming gave five pages!

The *Evening World* called this flight "the greatest feat of a solitary man in the records of the human race," and the *Ohio State Journal* ranked the aviator, who had followed a watery path well-blazed by other fliers, "among the great pioneers of history." "He has exalted the race of men," shrieked the Baltimore *Sun*. And the *New York Times* was moved to ask editorially: "What was the greatest story of all time? Adam eating the apple?" (Readers of the Bible may have recalled that this story was told in less than seven hundred words.) "The landing of the ark on Ararat?" (Amply reported in less than four hundred words!) "The discovery of Moses in the bulrushes?" (Fully covered in less than three hundred words.) . . . "But Lindbergh's flight," the editor concluded, "the suspense of it, the daring of it, the triumph and glory of it—these are the stuff that makes immortal news."

Suspense, daring, triumph, glory: here we have an abbreviation of the Pulitzerian formula. Lindbergh would have been the last to assert that he had done anything to compare in reckless daring with the feats of World War aviators; he had taken no new chances, and even the distance of his journey was quickly surpassed. His modest and attractive personality, however, was a Golconda for newspaper exploitation. How profitably they worked the mine may be guessed from a glance at some figures. On the day the flight was completed the

Washington *Star* sold 16,000 extra copies, the Washington *Post* many thousands above its average. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* reported that it was "cleaned out early." The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat,* which had helped finance the flight and was entitled alone of them all to financial reward, gained 27,000 circulation. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* sold 40,000 extra copies the day the flight was completed, and the San Francisco *Call* doubled its street sales. Similar results were noted in Denver, Oklahoma City, Seattle, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles and Minneapolis. In New York City the *Evening World* increased its sale, its circulation manager said, by 114,000 copies in a single day, and the *Telegram* announced that its total of 380,000 papers was a clean 100,000 ahead of the sales at the time of the Gray-Snyder murder verdict. The *Times* sold from thirty-five to forty thousand extra copies a day while the excitement continued, and the *World* reported that on the Monday after the flight its sale was 68,000 above the corresponding day a year before.

A clipping bureau, reporting on the whole country, estimated that in the first four days more than 27,000 columns had been given to the flier, which makes conservative a guess that in all he was the subject of print enough to fill four volumes of the Encyclopedia Britannica. In the first four days 220,000 more stories, according to the clipping bureau, were printed about the Lindbergh flight than about the death of Woodrow Wilson, which had set a previous high record for peace times.

It may be supposed that the sale of papers bearing the tidings of the former President's death arose from

genuine respect and affection. But it would be absurd to suppose that the excitement over Lindbergh was entirely spontaneous. "Newspaper talk," according to the *Times,* was "the sole cause of the vast assemblage" to welcome the flier.

The effect of the newspaper talk on a suggestible population was varied. Thousands took their pens in hand to write letters to the editor. "A great modern fairy tale," one of these volunteers called the story. Preachers took Lindbergh as their topic, and commercial commodities as well as zoölogical exhibits were named for him. A former Justice of the Supreme Court united with the Secretary of War and the Governor of New York State in dithyrambic pæans. Time and again his flight was compared in importance with the Armistice; and vastly greater space was devoted to it.

The Government of the United States took advantage of the fanfare to victimize this somewhat shrinking young carrier of commercial air mail. When newspaper men interviewed him in Paris, Ambassador Myron T. Herrick was present to signify by a nod or a shake of the head whether he should answer questions. He was brought back across the Atlantic in a naval flagship, the *Memphis,* accompanied by Vice-Admiral Burrage. Among the newspaper men aboard was the *New York Times* reporter who was writing the aviator's "signed" stories. (The stories were printed in thirty-odd newspapers, and presumably accepted as coming from Lindbergh himself.) This reporter, and the others aboard, found that their material was censored. Not even a bulletin could go out without the O. K. of

Commander Bagley. Since the end of the World War American newspaper men had not submitted to censorship until the Navy manifested this acute and arrogant interest. Nor was Lindbergh consulted as to what should be deleted. The Commander of the *Memphis* took it upon himself to say what should and should not be made known to the public.

Lindbergh's father had denounced the World War, had declared that "we have been dragged into the war by the intrigue of speculators," and had written a book, "Why Is Your Country at War." The *New York Times* had counted him fortunate not to be under indictment for sedition. The son refused to wear a Colonel's uniform sent out to him on the *Memphis;* but he was taken first to Washington, nevertheless, that the Government might identify itself with him, and him with the Unknown Soldier. He found his flight made the occasion for a demand for more fliers and better preparedness; he even found himself echoing these phrases! Willy-nilly, he was made a Colonel in the Air Corps Reserve of the United States Army. Addressing this modest and skillful young man at St. Louis, the Secretary of War said:

You have almost alone reunited in spirit and soul nations whose sons shed their blood in a common cause, peoples who through mutual misunderstandings seemed to be drifting apart when the world most needed a recrudescence of the valorous spirit of comradeship which sent men of different tongues and different races into the hell of battle. With common purpose and common courage, you flew from the night as a harbinger of international good-will.

WEATHER
Fair, cooler, Shifting winds.

DAILY MIRROR

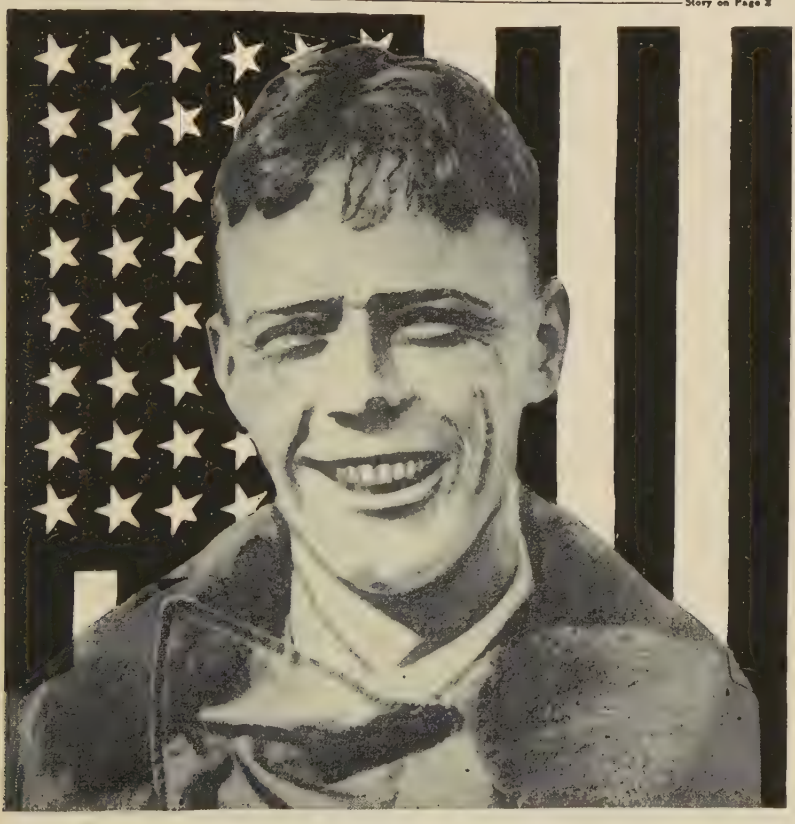
NEW YORK'S *BEST* PICTURE NEWSPAPER

FINAL EDITION

Vol III No 303 ** New York Saturday June 11, 1927 2 Cents

'LINDY' HOME

Story on Page 2



WELCOME TO OUR LINDY!

Clip This Photo Out Now and Paste It in Your Window as a Greeting to the Returning Air Hero.

The press coöperated in exploiting Lindbergh for the purposes of militarism. The Stars and Stripes here pictured were published (the stripes in red ink) on June 11, 1927.

And the daily press, which had exploited and victimized the young man to fatten its circulation figures, lent its cordial coöperation to his exploitation for the praiseworthy purposes of international relations and militarism. It uttered not a whimper about the censorship.

During all this time Lindbergh signed no commercial contracts, although vaudeville and motion picture promoters were eager to make him and themselves rich. At the crest of the newspaper-bred hysteria about him he refused to reap a harvest of millions. He had witnessed the sudden economic inflation of personalities; he had seen how the journalistic deification of "Trudy" Ederle and "Red" Grange and "Babe" Ruth and various prizefighters had thrown tangential fortunes into their laps. If the newspapers profited, in higher milline advertising rates, how much more did these temporary idols of a gullible and suggestible populace profit! Compared to their annual earnings at the height of their pulpwood acclaim, the President of the United States drew a meagre wage. It was true that with the waning of the paroxysm earnings fell off. Ours is a restless populace, handcuffed to a mechanical monotony and ever atiptoe for another thrill. In a channel swimmer, a bathing beauty, a tennis player, a pugilist, a motion picture star, it may find vicarious escape from the commonplace of machinery; and the newspaper undertakes profitably to provide the escape.

V

The organized ballyhoo which I have been describing had its real beginnings in the last decade of the last cen-

tury. We may trace its trends by glancing at the results of two surveys, one made in 1899, the other in 1923. In each there was set down the space allotted by sixty-three leading American newspapers to various types of news. During this twenty-four-year period, there was a decline of seventy-seven per cent in editorials, a decline of eighty-four per cent in letters to the editor, and a decline of sixty-six per cent in society items. Let us look now at the figures for certain categories of news, for advertising and illustrations.

General and political news, each increased one per cent —no ballyhoo there; business news increased four per cent; foreign, nine; sports, forty-seven; crime, fifty-eight!

Meanwhile advertising was increasing forty-seven per cent, and illustrations eighty-four per cent.

Three years before the first of these surveys was made, at the time of the St. Louis tornado, the *Globe-Democrat* had never, even on an occasion so important as a Presidential election, printed a headline more than two columns wide, in type which would be considered inconspicuous in these days. The paper had become powerful and famous under the management of J. B. McCullagh; but on the day of the storm (of all days!) he was unable to reach his office. The duty of getting out the paper thus fell to a youngish assistant. The cyclone, so-called, was a big story, anywhere in the United States. In St. Louis, what with the great property loss, the death toll, the narrow escapes and heroic rescues, and the freakishness of the storm itself, it was by all odds the greatest story of a generation. The young assistant rose to the occasion.

In the composing room he found some huge wooden type, intended for use in posters and handbills; and out of it he constructed a headline calculated to shock the most phlegmatic.

When McCullagh reached the office the next day the young man, so the story goes, spread the paper before him with unaffected pride. How did he like that headline? The Managing Editor gazed at it for some seconds in silence. Then, "It's a good head," he said; "it tells the story; but that type—I was saving that type for the Second Coming!"

For convenience this headline may be accepted as marking a mile-stone in American journalism. Other newspapers had used type as big and black, but no newspaper so conservative as the *Globe-Democrat.* This was in 1896; and it was not long until the press, which before had merely cried its wares, learned to shriek them. There was a riot of type and a bedlam of layouts. The Spanish-American War period witnessed the height of that fanfare. In that tempest ballyhoo was born. There came a stretch of comparative quiescence, until the World War so completely deranged all standards of news value and methods of news display that the American press has seemed unable to recover a normal and sound judgment.

These happenings cover less than the span of a generation. Let us move back something more than a century, that we may have the advantage of better perspective, and see what happened when the Battle of Waterloo was fought. The London *Times* announced Wellington's victory in less than a quarter of a column. No one will

pretend that this was adequate from the modern viewpoint of enormous headlines and floods of poppycock, but the *Times* had no apologies to offer: indeed, it put the news of one of the world's decisive battles at the *bottom* of a column. Last Fall, and again last Spring, it was nothing unusual to see, in New York newspapers, as much as twenty columns devoted to a single day's proceedings in two second-rate murder trials. The first was second-rate because the victims were an obscure clergyman and a janitor's wife; the other because, even from the newspaper slant, there was never any real mystery in it, and but little suspense as to the outcome. Napoleon's defeat in 1815 was announced to a triumphant nation in about three hundred words; whereas to report the Hall-Mills case a single newspaper required twice as many words as Will Durant needed to tell "The Story of Philosophy"; and this author himself was one of the "trained seals" who helped overcrowd the press of the United States with balderdash about the Snyder-Gray trial.

On the very day of the signing of the Armistice which ended the World War, the German Empire was overthrown and the Kaiser fled from the Fatherland into Holland. I do not believe the press has ever been asked to lift into public view on any other day so great a load of news. The *New York Times* met the emergency, so far as first-page display went, by the use of four eight-column "streamer" headlines. Eight years later, when Tunney defeated Dempsey, it headlined the event with three eight-column "streamers." This was not news perspective. If the Dempsey-Tunney prize-fight were put

into proper perspective with the events of Armistice Day, it would become invisible to the naked eye. Already its details have faded from the memory of all but sport fans. Not news perspective, this ballyhoo of the "cauliflower trade," but a development in the exploitation of a suggestible people.

James Melvin Lee, head of the School of Journalism at New York University, thinks news of informational value, instead of concentration on paid sports, screen stars, aviators and channel swimmers, could be made to pay. "Crowded as is the New York field," he writes (and surely what he says would prove true in less crowded fields), "it would, in my opinion, support a newspaper which adopted as its motto, 'All the news that's important.' The experiment of producing a paper living up to that motto has never been made in the United States. Some of the foreign newspapers which feature not 'what's interesting,' but 'what's important,' more than break even from their sales."

But news of genuinely instructive and informative character remains of a clearly casual nature. The inflation of matter appealing to unconscious passions and hungers continues. The news which startles, thrills and entertains is still blown up as vigorously as the toy balloon of Queen Marie's visit. Thus does the American press exemplify day by day the grandiose, the brobdingnagian art of ballyhoo.

CHAPTER II

THE INVASION OF PRIVACY

"Fictionized" News and the "Right of Castle"

A newspaper should not invade private rights or feelings without sure warrant of public right as distinguished from public curiosity.—*From the Code of Ethics adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors.*

HENRY M. STANLEY, hero of a celebrated journalistic exploit, quit newspaper work after he found Livingstone and began writing his reminiscences. Rumors reached his former associates that he was having domestic trouble; it was even whispered that he had beaten his wife; and Aubrey Stanhope of the New York *Herald* staff was sent to investigate.

It was a ticklish assignment. Stanley was an irascible man. For a time the two chatted amiably, and then the reporter, gathering courage, blurted out his question. As the import of the visit dawned upon Stanley he clenched his fists savagely. After a tense half-minute, relaxing, he gasped: "God! To think I used to do that sort of thing myself!"

A good all-round reporter before he became an explorer, Stanley took his medicine like a man. There had been no suit for divorce, no public happening to justify this intrusion, but he realized that he had done unto others as was being done unto him. Every day there are per-

sons, under no such restraint as this, who must face similar inquisitions by the modern press. Hardly any woman of social distinction can start abroad in these times without being asked by the ship-news reporters whether she is going to Paris to get a divorce. When her denial is printed, the public supposes there must be some fire under this smoke, and mutters sagely: "The lady protests too much, methinks." For how is the newspaper reader to know that this is but one of the minor irritations of a gadfly press?

The "human interest" story, the kind which prompts publication of trivial personal detail, scandal, romance and stormy love, is a residuary legacy from the London penny-shocker of a century ago. The newspaper of to-day and the twice-a-month "confession" magazine are closer cousins than you may suspect.

I

The elder Bennett, who sent Stanley to Africa, was the first American newspaper hippodromist of private affairs. He was first to print news for its selling value as news, without regard to its political effect. For this reason he was charged with having introduced "counting-house methods" to the daily press. Before his time there had been personalities aplenty, but they were political. Long before the *Herald* was founded Major Benjamin Russell of the Massachusetts *Centinel* told how his life had been threatened by an angry citizen, on account of certain personal aspersions; but the issue in that case was the Constitution. The first paper de Tocqueville read on his

arrival here in 1831 declared that Andrew Jackson "governs by means of corruption, and his immoral practices will redound to his shame and confusion." The "open and coarse" appeal to popular passion which the visitor noted was still an appeal to political passion. After the Revolution the press proclaimed itself the palladium of liberty, and apparently by that token considered itself privileged to abuse whom it would.

But a change was coming. It had been discovered that circulation was chiefly valuable as the basis of advertising rates; and de Tocqueville commented on the fact that, while in France the press was devoted chiefly to political discussion, and gave little space to advertisements, in this country "three-fourths of the enormous sheet" was given to advertising, while the rest was politics and "trivial anecdotes."

Since bulk of circulation is the main basis of newspaper advertising rates, Bennett cast about for something better than trivial anecdotes, and found it in imitating the London penny magazines, then circulating successfully on this side of the water. He imitated them in contents and in price. He was first to sense the value of police court items, Wall Street deals and personal intimacies; and he set the pattern for modern journalism in making the daily paper not only a budget of information but a form of entertainment and a vehicle of "escape" literature. Fashionable folk were outraged at his reports of their doings. The reports were printed not for the fashionables but for kitchen maids.

The first penny paper, founded in 1830 in Philadelphia,

was short-lived. In 1832 immigration jumped from twenty-two thousand past sixty thousand. In 1833 Ben Day founded the *Sun,* the first penny paper to live. Bennett entered the field two years later and began at once to emulate the cheap London magazines. An industrial population was being bred to read the penny papers. Railroads were being built, anthracite coal was being mined, agricultural machinery was being improved, Chicago was about to be incorporated as a city, and there were many portents of material progress as the machine age got under way. In New York there were eleven six-cent papers, with an average circulation of but 1,700, sold by subscription only. The theory prevailed that literacy should be confined to property owners, then the ruling class, and that the press was meant exclusively for the well-educated.

But "Old Hickory's" administration and the coming of the *Sun* and *Herald* upset the notion that only the well-to-do were fit to know the news. These papers were edited to please different tastes. They exploited personal affairs not for political effect but for revenue only. The qualities which attracted the kitchen maid to the London penny-dreadfuls drew her to the penny papers. Details about crime and divorce suits made their appearance in the daily prints. On August 4, 1836, the *Sun* noted "a change in the mass of the people," and boasted that it had "probably done more to benefit the community by enlightening the minds of the common people than all the other papers together." Its circulation by now was five thousand greater than all the six-cent circulations combined.

Little did the framers of the Constitution foresee this.

They hated and feared government by the mob; and they guaranteed a free press, we may be sure, in the conviction that it would be a press for the privileged. Newspapers were regarded in that day as indispensable to the spread of information and opinion among the cultured, and therefore vital to the ruling classes. That they would become a refuge and amusement and fount of information to the masses, that they would supply a form of "escape" literature to the Great Unwashed whom the Founding Fathers feared and distrusted, did not once occur to them. They guaranteed freedom to a conservative, not a sensational, press.

The penny press was administered on the shrewd premise that all sorts and conditions of men would like sensationalism. Joseph Biggs of Leicester, England, who was sent to this country in 1837 on business matters, found that Americans read newspapers on the streets, in barrooms and everywhere else. "Cabmen, boatmen, tapsters, oysterwomen, porters . . . the driver or pilot will borrow the newspaper," he said, "read it readily and comment on it fluently and well." He thought our press "dreadfully licentious," and its attacks on private character "disgraceful in the extreme."

New York was then a city of three hundred thousand. Ragged newsboys, who paid two-thirds of a cent each for the papers, peddled them in streets where barefoot girls swept the crossings. At the fashionable hour, in mid-afternoon, Broadway was thronged with men and women sumptuously clad, out for the air afoot or in costly vehicles. Such was the almost mediæval contrast between wealth and

poverty in this land of the free; and by a familiar process those least blessed materially revelled in the chronicles of levees, attended by the rich, as set forth in Bennett's *Herald.*

The editors of the six-cent papers, or some of them, speculated in the stock market, on tips from their Wall Street cronies, and Bennett told about it in his paper. James Watson Webb, editor of the *Courier and Enquirer,* met him on the street one day and knocked him down. A few months later he repeated the assault—one of many Bennett suffered—and the facts were fully set forth in the *Herald,* whereat its circulation jumped by nine thousand. Bennett could smile, so he said, at assassins and daggers; he would "never abandon the cause of truth, morals and virtue"; he was conscious of his own "virtue, integrity and purest principles."

The penny papers got the circulation; but even then a contradictory factor, which has been the despair of newspaper publishers ever since, manifested itself. Methods which made for large circulation tended to defeat the chief blessing of large circulation, which was a higher advertising rate. Congressman Botts wanted to take Government advertisements out of the penny papers, ostensibly because they were read only in the cities where they were published. To this the editors retorted that they had rid Philadelphia of riots, that they had attacked the monopolies of the banks, that they had assailed the profiteers in flour and beef, and that they had undertaken a reform of the debased currency. Already they were crusaders; already they trumpeted their virtue as public servants. But

crusading, it so happens, does not engender that contentment and sense of well-being which leads to spending. It was observed that attacks on the banks and the profiteers brought an atmosphere of disquiet, which was not conducive to trade.

Thus it came in time to pass that the penny papers grew soberer and soberer in their treatment of current news. They dealt in scandal and romance, but they shifted part of the burden to fiction. Remembering now the example of the London penny-shockers, glance for a moment at this excerpt from a serial which was running in the Charlotte, (N. C.) *Journal* of March 19, 1840:

"Villain! What? Marry my daughter! Black hearted scoundrel! Now, indeed, do I know you for the same John Alderly of old. Leave the house, sir, lest the roof fall and crush the innocent with the guilty. Leave the house, I say! Your presence is pollution!"

II

In the early eighties the one-cent paper no longer flourished; we had two-cent papers; and the sobriety, not to say stodginess, of the press was so marked that, when George Cary Eggleston became a managing editor in New York, John Bigelow of the *Evening Post* said to him: "You are going to make the *Commercial and Advertiser* a newspaper for the educated classes. It is my opinion that there are already too many newspapers for the educated classes." George Henry Payne, in his "History of Journalism," says Joseph Pulitzer had this in mind when he bought the

World in 1883, and that he undertook to get out a paper "for all sorts and conditions of men."

By now the rotary press and type-setting machine had been invented, and pulpwood afforded a cheap substitute for rag paper. The telegraph, telephone and typewriter facilitated the recording and distribution of news. The frontier was obsolescent; immigration had climbed well past the half-million mark (although many of the newcomers were to support a foreign-language press) and great stress was being laid on common school education.

The penny newspaper shockers of half a century before, as George Henry Payne shows, had swung far to the right. It was time for the pendulum to swing back. It was time to dip down for new circulation; and this movement reached its height when Pulitzer, to meet the competition of William Randolph Hearst, reduced the price of the *World* to one cent. He said he preferred power to profits; what he got was circulation, and it was a circulation which did not cut into the more sedate dailies. As the echoes of the Hearst-Pulitzer battle died, the swing of the pendulum took the press farther and farther away from the sub-circulation which makes for eye-filling figures; and that swing continued until the tabloid picture papers of the present brought a return of what was known in its day as yellow journalism.

During all this time there was a mounting appetite in the daily press for personal detail. Whether it reflected throughout a normal public appetite need not be debated here; I need only set down de Tocqueville's observation that the press "seems to me to have passions and instincts

of its own, independent of the circumstances in which it is placed." The "human interest" story gained ground steadily, in practically all sections of the daily press. The elder Pulitzer required his reporters to describe minutely the appearance of persons interviewed and of speakers at political rallies; that was the "human interest" touch; and the *World* has been by no means alone in extending and amplifying the instruction, during its founder's life and since. The reporter and the camera man are ubiquitous; the invasion of personal privacy far exceeds, in numberless instances, the province of the press, even when it is permitted to name its own boundaries. Theoretically the most sacred of human rights, the "right of castle" has become a journalistic laughing stock. The newspaper dares rush in where government fears to tread; the privacy of the home is safe from secret service invasion without warrant, even in these parlous Volsteadian days; but against reportorial invasion in the guise of public service there seems no adequate recourse.

The newspaper's claim of public service is based primarily upon its function as a disseminator of news; secondarily upon its energy in attacking monopolies of banks, profiteers in flour and beef and rents, and its diligence in exposing official corruption; excepting, of course, the Teapot Dome scandal. It is in its character as a public servant, gathering news to which the public is entitled, that the newspaper invades privacy; and ironically it is most likely at such moments to forget all the canons of news. Heywood Broun, while columnist of the *World,* said:

I wish some professor of journalism or city editor would tell me just why it is essential that a full consignment of news-gatherers should be sent to dog the footsteps of Irving Berlin and his wife every time they move from one spot to another. After the last encounter one of the papers said, "Mr. Berlin refused to talk." What, I wonder, is he expected to say?

That his marriage was a legitimate matter of newspaper concern and curiosity I admit readily enough. But I fail to see just where news interest jogs him now. At least a half dozen times since the wedding the unfortunate composer has been badgered by the press until some such statement as "We are very happy" has been wrung from him. It is hard to picture any one of the reporters galloping back to his office after such a triumph and shouting out, "Drop everything and stop the presses! I've got the biggest story of the year. Irving Berlin says he's very happy!"

When a man newly wed says he is happy I contend that isn't news. Even though it happens to be true it seems to me a fact too fragile for the headlines. In a civilization organized like ours no public man can hope to have his privacy wholly respected. But he has a right to demand that his own affairs shall not be constantly thumbed over after the first full flush of news value has departed from them.

Why should Broun speak of "a civilization organized like ours"? Why not say outright that the Berlins are "badgered" by a *journalism* organized like ours? There is nothing civilized about it. Long after all semblance of news had been exhausted in this case the newspapers exploited it. Some even solicited letters (to be printed in the news columns, not on the editorial page) in reply to the question: Would *you* do what Ellin Mackay did? Reams of asinine stuff were elicited in this way. The

story had been squeezed dry long before the Berlins set out for Europe; but they were spied upon by reporters at every turn on deck, followed in London, then to the Madeira Islands, whither they fled to escape the reporters and photographers, then on their return to this country and after the birth of their child.

The real interest in the story was its fictional quality: the romance of bridging a social gap conventionally supposed to be impassable. The fact that the bridegroom's name was noted in the *Social Register* caused a journalistic convulsion. Many newspaper men will say, I suppose, that the prominence of these two in their separate spheres was enough to account for the space given to their marriage. I think that the story's kinship with "Abie's Irish Rose" and with the romances of the newsstand pulpwood magazines had much to do with it; and that this phase of "human interest" is largely responsible for the invasion of personal privacy. Stories of similar character usually lead to an Everest of newspaper impudence. Consider the case of the wealthy young James A. (Bud) Stillman, Jr., when his engagement was announced. I will set down the cross-examination in this case of "prince and peasant" as I find it in the *New York Times:*

When asked how he had happened to meet the girl, young Stillman laughed.

"Well, how does a fellow come to meet a girl, anyway," he replied.

"Is she a blonde or a brunette?" Again he laughed, and then said, somewhat soberly, "A blonde."

"Just what did she look like, what was her general appearance?" one interviewer wanted to know.

"Oh, I don't think I can tell you that," was the reply.
"Just how was she employed at your mother's home?"
"She just sort of helped my mother around the house," he said.
"What does your mother think of the engagement? Does she think it is all right?"
"Sure. You bet," replied young Stillman, this time with positiveness.

The pre-nuptial ballyhoo by the press included a report that the parents of the girl opposed the marriage because young Stillman was not a Roman Catholic. As they themselves were not Catholics, there seemed ground for reasonable doubt as to the truth of this. But something had to be printed, apparently. The staff correspondent sent by the Associated Press to distant Grand Anse, Quebec, reported:

As in fairy stories, from which this young Prince Charming seemed to come to woo and win the woodland lass, the witch of discord, who a few days ago threatened to mar the course of true love, has been banished and the eve of the wedding found all serene with principals and their families.

The serenity of the ceremony, which was elaborately reported by newspapers and press agencies, was disturbed by the groom's mother, Mrs. James A. Stillman, whose divorce case had made for years a sewer through American journalism. She slapped and assaulted with chinaware some of the eight camera men sent to the Canadian ranch by enterprising newspapers and motion picture companies. This had its value, perhaps, as giving to readers a glimpse of multimillionaire behavior; but the real value, the main

feature under the standards adopted by the press, is told in these headlines from the Bridgeport (Conn.) *Times-Star:*

Love Supreme, the Fairy Godmother, Wields her Magic Wand in Canada, and Bud and Lena are Made Happy. . . . A Real Cinderella Story.

III

Lest any doubt remain as to the high regard in which newspaper men, themselves incorrigibly romantic, hold romance, let me quote a banner line across the top of the *Daily News* of December 1, 1926: "Grocer Boy Weds Fifi To-morrow, *Proving Dreams Come True.*" (I have italicized the enacting clause.) The man here referred to was not a grocer boy, and never had been, but to say so gave the truly fictional touch to the headline. On the next day, at the top of Page One of the *World,* we note this headline: "Princess and the Cadet: *A Fairy Story from Life.*" The story underneath told of a meeting between the Princess Ileana of Rumania with a "Prince Charming" at West Point. It was printed after the royal party had left this country, when popular curiosity about its members had been satiated. Of the cadet nobody except his family and his classmates had ever heard before. Was it news? Judge for yourself. On the following day the *New York Times,* which was beaten on the initial publication, rehashed the *World* story and adorned it with a picture of the "Prince Charming," two columns wide and nine inches deep, including this snappy caption: "The Cadet Who Lunched with a Princess."

There was no privilege for the emphasis given to this incident, nor for the implications involved in the emphasis. There was no justification for the story, even had it become known while the Princess was a figure in the public eye. When there is a privilege of publication it is clear enough to most newspaper men (for it is legally defined), and they recognize its absence. Privileged news is often made the entering wedge for the publication of details so private and personal that they should not be printed. Once the wedge has entered, it does not appear that the question of news is considered. Was the fee which Millicent Rogers paid a ukelele player—his usual fee—a matter of news merely because she had married and left Count Salm? Merely because the two had parted, was it a matter of news that the Count happened to enter a hotel elevator in Paris with the mistress of Prince Carol? Apparently! The amount of the ukulele player's fee was announced in the press; and we were informed that the two in the chance elevator encounter "exchanged mutually respectful glances."

Gerald Chapman, a gunman and murderer of whom the newspapers made a hero as a "super-criminal," concealed his family connections. One of his brothers is a New York man and an employé of the city government. He has five children, living in a suburb; and he has a sister. A reporter for William Randolph Hearst's *American* and another for the *World,* after days of hard work, learned the identity of these kinsfolk and reported triumphantly to their city editors. This was news of high value, as the press values news nowadays; but the editors

of both these newspapers decided that publication would merely inflict unmerited ignominy upon innocent persons, and refused to permit it.

An honorable instance of conscience in journalism! All will acclaim it. How different the behavior of these same newspapers in the case of Leonard Kip Rhinelander, scion of rich and fashionable folk, who married a quadroon. Both papers dragged his entire family into the spotlight, even to remote ancestors.

IV

Newspaper publications are not so ephemeral as some of us may fancy. Arnold Bennett, on his first visit to the United States, compared our reporters with our dentists, in their skill and speed. The simile was apt, but it would have been apter had the comparison been with "painless" dentistry, which usually leaves an abscess. The first splurge of publicity seldom ends the thing. Ever so slight a jar may shake it all loose again; and newspaper men are commonly of the opinion that they are warranted in raking up from their files anything which has been printed, whenever they please. They are under no necessity of referring actually to the bound files. News is embalmed in the Morgue, sometimes called the Library, sometimes the Reference Department; there every item and story is filed and painstakingly cross-indexed. How slight a vibration serves to send ripples in ever-widening circles is illustrated by a publication in the New York *Evening Post.*

At the Ritz in Paris, between the men's bar and the

women's, there is a small room which is a rendezvous for a certain set. One day the correspondent of the *Post* stationed himself there, to make notes for a smart yarn about life in the capital. At the door appeared the figure of "a well-groomed man, his hair tinged with gray." This fleeting appearance would never have been recorded if the journalist had not been informed that the well-groomed man was a brother of the late Reverend Doctor Percy Stickney Grant's former fiancée.

This engagement had figured largely in the news columns, a part of the time with no privilege of publication; it had been broken, and the clergyman, while in a hospital, had been libelled by stories about him and a servant he had befriended. The *World* had declared that this was "a cruel and unfounded allegation," and that "conscientious newspapers would welcome an alert public recognition of what is right and what is wrong in the protection of personal affairs." (The recognition should come first, surely, from the newspapers themselves; the public would welcome it.) It will be seen that the press regarded the clergyman as fair game; so that the mere fortuitous appearance of a man at a doorway three thousand miles away set up a reverberation of the stories about him. Whatever may happen in future to the Irving Berlins or the Rhinelanders or the Stillmans junior, will serve as an excuse for repetition of the stories about their marriage. From the eagerness with which old stuff is warmed over, one might think news a rarity; as a fact, every newspaper has more than it can possibly print, even under the restrictions of a stereotyped process of selection.

Whether the selection makes for interest is the question. News editors hold that the "intimate" romantic type is the best-seller.

The reference department of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* contains three million clippings and a half a million photographs. Nine persons are busy there, adding to this collection at the rate of three hundred clippings daily and fifty photographs. The value of the "library" is estimated in the hundreds of thousands of dollars; but of course much of the stuff is regarded by any paper as quite beyond price.

It is beyond price because it adds another stereotype to the news editor's tool chest. The rehashing of this material, whenever a new slant gives occasion for it, has the same advantage as offering for sale advertised wares. The commodity is as good as sold. The reader has already identified himself with it. The very name of the story is the symbol of a special thrill: Hall-Mills means sacerdotal illicit love; Berlin-Mackay means "Abie's Irish Rose"; Stillman-Wilson means prince and peasant; Mary Spas, as we shall see presently, means Cinderella, and so on. The hokum of the third-rate fictionist is always on tap in the Morgue.

The persistent use of this stereotype robs much newspaper news of any news value, in the sense of being new to us. The stuff is interesting in the same way as the account of a play, a street accident, or a baseball game which we have ourselves witnessed. We know from experience that it will do certain things for us, just as we know that Ivory Soap will float. It has a trade-mark

identification. Editorial salesmanship sets up thus the paradox that freshness, recentness, newness, are no longer prerequisites of news.

This is one of the conventions by which the daily newspaper distorts its product and stultifies its function.

V

Any one who reads newspapers can see for himself instances of the gross invasion of privacy. They need not be multiplied here. Seldom are they resented in the courts. A newspaper in Jefferson City, Mo., has been enjoined from publishing the names of persons for whom whisky prescriptions were issued; and occasionally there are suits for libel or damages, about which the newspapers themselves maintain a conspiracy of silence; but on the whole there is either contemptuous inaction, as in the case of Dr. Grant, who would not bring suit even in a clear case of libel, or a naïve awe of the Power of the Press. If an editor who had published private and unprivileged facts were attacked in the street as the elder Bennett was he could echo the cry that he would "never abandon the cause of truth, morals and virtue." His cause of truth, morals and virtue has made hash of the right of castle; but if we descend from the realm of abstract right to the realm of human nature we must conclude that many in the audience to which the press appeals do not object to the spotlight on their homes; they sometimes invite it.

Edward W. Browning, a rich real estate dealer, as an example, notified the newspapers when he adopted Mary Spas. He likes notoriety. He had learned, from a pre-

vious adoption, that the press doted on Cinderella stories, which have the fictional "escape" attribute. He knew, however, that the girl's parents would shrink from publicity, and he refused to give the reporters their name or address. The resourceful press was not at loss. The reporters ferreted out the humble home, described it in detail, even to the pictures on the walls, and asked the mother how she felt about the adoption.

"My feelings," she said (and was so quoted unblushingly in our most eminent daily paragons of respectability) "are not for the world." Of course they were for the *World;* also for the *Times, Herald Tribune, Daily Mirror* and hundreds of other papers. Despite the deep personal dignity of that reply, it was reported, and so were the mother's symptoms of distress. It so happened that Mary Spas was not sixteen, as she had pretended, but twenty-one; city officials began an investigation, and the young woman tried to kill herself. Her parents were especially anxious that no word of all this should reach another daughter, who was grievously ill in Denver. But the press has a long arm, and it has devoted servants. The whole story was told to the tuberculous girl, by an interviewer, and a short time later she died. Perhaps she could not live anyhow; this is not to charge the newspapers with any part in her death; but can one doubt that her going would have been easier had she not been distressed (in order to give the press another "human interest" thrill) by the story of her sister's disgrace?

VI

A *grande dame* of the old South, in Stark Young's "Heaven Trees," tells a visitor from Vermont that in the old days, if an editor had printed a picture of a girl, he would have been horsewhipped; "now," she added, "he would be horsewhipped if he didn't." The last citadel of privacy in this United States has thus been overthrown; for the South resisted longer than the rest of the country the invasion of its home by the press. As the legatee of a slave-owning aristocracy, your Southerner has rather high-hat notions of himself, or had. There was a time when he not only regarded his private affairs as no subject for the public prints, but was unable to distinguish between himself in his private capacity and himself in an official character. A political opponent might shout criticism of his conduct from the hustings, but not the editor in the still small voice of nonpareil.

There was a touch of comedy in that attitude, but the comedy is gone. Even in the smaller southern cities the damper is no longer clapped on reports of such purely personal and social affairs as cotillons. In New Orleans, in Memphis, Atlanta and Chattanooga, as they became industrialized and Yankeefied, the barriers against personal publicity were swept away. A semi-literate industrial population incubates there as elsewhere the sort of newspaper which the elder Bennett, observing the popularity of the London penny-dreadfuls, started on its way nearly a century ago.

VII

Henry M. Stanley did not hit the reporter who asked him whether it was true that he beat his wife. It is quite possible that he had never before reflected on the character of work journalism had sometimes demanded of him. I know that no twinges of conscience assailed me in such circumstances. All reporters did it; if we couldn't break into a home by assault we settled down for a siege. All of us knew, of course, that if we didn't deliver the goods we would be considered by our superiors about as useful as last year's calendar. My trial assignment, when I moved on as a reporter from Louisville to St. Louis, was based on a four-line item in a morning newspaper, telling of a driver who had destroyed himself with carbolic acid.

"In a home like that," said the City Editor, "there is always a good human interest story. Get it."

A girl in her teens answered the doorbell. She didn't want to talk to me, but she was too polite, or too broken by grief, to close the door in my face. After a few minutes, obeying some obscure impulse—it was the last time I was ever to obey such an impulse, which is the main reason for setting it down here—I let her go. I did not have the story I had been sent for, so I faked one; this was a trial assignment, and something must be written. I said the father stifled his screams of agony, lest he wake his children. Hospital internes had told me that death from carbolic, after the first brief burning as the stuff passes over the tongue, is practically painless; the nerve

ganglia are destroyed, and the convulsions are merely muscular. But I relied on ignorance of this in the office, and my confidence was justified. The story made the first page; my place on the payroll was assured. Thereafter I became more thoroughly hard-boiled, and looked on such incidents as a game. Most reporters speak of newspaper work, you will observe, as "the game." Perhaps they have not been permitted to learn it in such a way that they can think of it as a profession.

There is a sort of pride in accomplishing the invasion, on behalf of the Great God News, of another's privacy. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., has told with gusto how he climbed a hotel fire escape to enter Dunsany's room unannounced, when the writer was trying to escape reporters; how he got aboard Secretary Daniels's boat in the guise of a porter, how he shadowed a man suspected by his paper of having separated from his wife, and how he sneaked into a millionaire's Long Island estate to peek through a window. This callousness, or pride, is stimulated by the reporter's superiors in order to keep him fit for the game.

VIII

The *grande dame* of "Heaven Trees" had in mind the publication of a picture with the consent—or under the compulsion—of the person photographed. What of those whose pictures are printed against their will? Mrs. Frances Stevens Hall, after she was acquitted of a charge of helping to kill her husband and Mrs. Eleanor Mills, said she was no longer proud of being an American.

"I don't think it is fair, or good Americanism," she explained, "to make snapshot pictures of unwilling persons and print them. I think that is stealing, just as much as stealing one's personal property. I think one's personal appearance is one's own, and I think that no one has a right to take that appearance in a picture without permission."

Thus she posed a question which has been growing more urgent ever since the Hearst-Pulitzer press blazed a half-tone pathway across Page One. The photographs which the newspapers regard as best would never be obtained if the camera men were polite enough to ask permission before taking them. A newspaper photographer, whose camera had been smashed by an angry actor—of all persons!—tried to get a New York magistrate to issue a warrant. "Did you have permission," the Judge asked, "to make this picture?" When the reply was in the negative, he refused to issue a warrant. It is recognized in the trade as good form for the photographer in such cases to pick up the pieces and forget the incident.

The elder J. P. Morgan objected to newspaper photographs, but the press circumvented him. An artist who had painted his portrait took a trip to Europe, and in his absence a newspaper photographer induced the housekeeper where he had his studio to admit him. He copied the portrait, and when the artist returned he found himself famous, for the picture had been sold far and wide. He attempted without success to regain it in the courts, and then vainly begged for the plate.

Henry H. Rogers, then president of the Standard Oil,

tried to stop the hearings in the government suit which resulted in dissolution of the trust, because a newspaper photographer set off a flashlight and got the oil man's picture while he was testifying. (The report went around that there had been a dynamite outrage.) A warrant was issued for the photographer, but he was not penalized.

In Germany the Berlin Chamber Court has ruled that no newspaper should print a photograph obtained without the consent of the subject photographed. A measure has been introduced into the British House of Commons to make either sketching or photographing in the courts a criminal offence, on the ground that this "interferes with the administration of justice, adds to the terrors of the Law Courts, and is a monstrous abuse of the rights of the press."

In this country a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington has acted as a check to litigation by persons aggrieved in the publication of their pictures. In that case a newspaper printed the photograph of a child to "decorate" a story of its father's alleged criminal conduct; and the highest court held that although wrong might have been done, there was no legal remedy. Such a decision obviously traversed the legal contention that the courts afford a remedy for every wrong; and there was subsequently passed in New York State a little-known law specifically establishing the right to sue in such cases.

Subsequently the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, ruling on a demurrer by a Hearst paper, handed down a decision which promises to have a far-reaching

effect in establishing the rights of citizens under such circumstances. The decision was written by Justice Frederick L. Siddons, and denies the right of the press to publish personal photographs without consent of the person or persons involved. Let me quote the concluding paragraph:

It was suggested in the oral argument that to sustain the right of action in such cases as the pending one would be to invade the freedom of the press. The suggestion, the court thinks, is not sound, if for no other reason than that the freedom of the press, guaranteed by our Constitution, is not a freedom to violate the rights of others. Even a public character may be libelled by a newspaper, and the newspaper or its owner compelled to respond in damages for the libellous publication. Nor does the freedom of the press carry with it the privilege of invading any other right of the citizen. Such a contention, if carried to its logical extreme, would justify a newspaper publisher in invading the home of the citizen and publishing the results of its invasion, and shield itself in so doing by invoking the freedom of the press.

Newspapers generally paid no attention to this important decision. It affects, in truth, the whole question of the invasion of privacy, and is of paramount interest to newspaper readers; yet the only mention of it I found was an obscure twelve-line item in an afternoon daily; so obscure that I could not tell, from reading it, whether the ruling affected a civil rights action, a suit for damages, a criminal prosecution or an elephant's ear. Although the press boasts of its mission as the savior and protector of the public, it maintains silence where the rights of the public interfere with its money-making activities.

To this distraught mother a policeman is obligingly exhibiting, for the benefit of a New York American *photographer, the rope with which her eleven-year-old son has hanged himself.*

It will be observed that I have dealt here, not with the tabloid picture papers (to make a case against them would be too easy to be worth our time) but with the standard-sized, respectable, substantial press. The quotation of a headline from a tabloid was to illustrate a type of news rather than an invasion of privacy. Our most pious journals (with a very few exceptions of comparatively small circulation) exploit for profit the personal affairs of the people in this country.

Marie of Rumania, herself not averse to publicity, one gathers, observed on her departure from this country that "there seems no privacy in your American lives; everything anybody does is pried into. It is strange that you who are so busy living have time for this extraordinary interest in others." The implication here was that newspapers invade privacy because of an overwhelming public demand for it. Even an overwhelming demand could not justify the deliberate contempt for law shown daily by our press; but, leaving that aside, are we really so nosy as Marie seems to think? Or is it true that the newspapers stimulate an appetite which grows by stimulation? If the world around us were competently reported the account might prove quite as fascinating as a scandal. The news conventions built upon the penny-shocker present a caricature. The fictionizing of news (and I am using the phrase not to indicate faking, but to describe a process of selection and presentation), has an invariable concomitant, the invasion of privacy. In itself it is a confession of impotence. It is an admission that the newspaper is unable to make itself interesting in its legitimate

field. Circulation is more important than the right of castle. Salacity and intimate trivialities are the condiments with which the indifferent cook spices our daily broth.

CHAPTER III

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE

Goose-stepping for the Administration

I

THAT good democrat, Thomas Jefferson, was the first to set up, in 1801, a subsidized semi-official newspaper in Washington, modelled after a European type of journalism which still survives in some places. It was not the first journal to try its fortunes at the national capital. Back in the Spring of 1795 a Norfolk printer had carted his type cases, brass column rules, iron chases and printing press from Norfolk, but his paper did not live long, for all his labors. Toward the close of that century there were two years when the town had no newspaper; but when Jefferson became President several were struggling for existence.

Samuel Harrison Smith, owner of a Philadelphia paper, was induced by Jefferson to move to the capital and merge his property into the thrice-weekly *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser.* Thereupon Alexander Hamilton, who had first conceived in this country the notion of an "inspired" publication, set up the Washington *Federalist.* The opposition paper had no access, however, to the public trough in the form of an advertising subsidy, and it soon died. The organ of

Jeffersonism, to the contrary, waxed prosperous. It was known as "the court journal."

Toward the close of Jefferson s administration, Smith took in two partners, who became the official stenographers of the two houses in Congress. They transcribed the debates on the Missouri Compromise and the famous forensic duels between Webster and Hayne. The two stenographers founded the *Congressional Globe,* forerunner of that compendium of mediocrity, unconscious humor and garrulity known as the *Congressional Record.* Each of them served as Mayor of Washington, and one of them entertained General Lafayette. They enjoyed greater social prestige than most journalists of that day, for they shared the distinction of using the official snuff-boxes. (The Senate snuff-box, if I remember aright, still occupies its niche near the Vice-President's rostrum.) When the British captured the capital in the War of 1812, they vengefully destroyed the plant of "the court journal."

The rise and fall of official papers is recorded by George Henry Payne in his "History of Journalism in the United States." Monroe, toward the end of his term, had more than one favored organ. John Quincy Adams made the *National Journal* his mouthpiece. Andrew Jackson, suspecting the editor of his *United States Telegraph* of undue friendship for Calhoun, caused the *Globe* to be founded, at a cost, so it was said, of $50,000 a year during its infancy. Every evening the editor of the *Globe* conferred with the President, and he was credited with writing most of the executive messages and speeches.

In the whirligig of politics the *Globe* died when Harrison was elected, and the *Intelligencer* became the fair-haired journal of the capital. Here arose the first revolt against administration organs. Although an obedient House made the owner of the *Intelligencer* its official printer, the Senate kicked over the traces and selected another journal for the perquisite. It was the beginning of the end; but it was not until 1864 that public printing actually was let to the lowest bidder. Even before that time astute politicians had begun to see that an inspired paper was not worth its salt. What they saw three-quarters of a century ago some Governments seem not to have learned even now. Certainly if the human race goes forward by a process of trial and error, the later generation profits but little from the errors of the earlier ones. Only recently the German Foreign Office has sold the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* to a syndicate, after an embarrassing ownership (an ownership punctuated by violent controversies and nasty public charges), in order not to handicap an incoming Cabinet. In France the subsidized political organ still persists. In Italy no subsidy is necessary: to be Fascist is the price of life.

Yet even President Fillmore, who was not blessed with many bright ideas, saw that the uses of an official mouthpiece could be better served by recruiting some or all of the Washington correspondents for that purpose. And so ended the era of journalistic hypocrisy which began with Jefferson's organ, bearing at its masthead the motto: "The tendency of public measures and the conduct of

public men will be examined with candor and truth." Semi-officially, but with candor and truth!

It is true that Jefferson had at hand no such corps of correspondents as Fillmore. As late as 1813 there were but four of them. By 1823 it was thought fitting to set aside a press gallery, and in the next year there was a round dozen to occupy it. Three years later the elder James Gordon Bennett, who was first to conceive the newspaper as a combination of vaudeville and "escape" literature—in addition to its budget of information—boasted that he had given to Washington dispatches "their present light and amusing character."

II

Thus the system of disseminating news from Washington, a system which has spawned the "White House Spokesman," the anonymous Cabinet interview and an organized propaganda, did not assume form until the second half of the last century. From Fillmore to Wilson news of the White House was bootlegged to correspondents more or less furtively, through Cabinet officers and personal secretaries. Cleveland, resentful of the invasion by the press of his earlier life, would see no reporters, and there came during his Administration one of the most remarkable examples we have of the suppressive power of officialdom, to which I will return presently. McKinley was almost as silent, and the correspondents sat often on Mark Hanna's doorstep, in the hope of getting news before the President knew it was going to be news. Roosevelt had a few favorite cor-

respondents through whom, anonymously, he sent out trial balloons, and repudiated them if they were unfavorably received. Taft talked with the late Gus Karger, Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Times-Star,* owned by the then President's half-brother, C. P. Taft. Karger passed the word along to the others.

The incident during Cleveland's Administration besmirched for twenty years the reputation of one truthful correspondent. The President suffered from a malignant sarcoma of the mouth, and during July, 1893, two operations were secretly performed, to remove some teeth and a part of the jaw. The first operation was aboard a yacht, repainted to escape identification; the second at Buzzard's Bay. A jaw of vulcanized rubber replaced the bone which had been removed, and when Cleveland returned to the White House there was no scar, nor any other obvious means of confirming rumors of serious trouble. A panic was gathering headway, the Vice-President was a Free Silverite, and it was thought that if the public feared for the President's health and life the panic might become a rout.

Nevertheless E. J. Edwards, who wrote for the Philadelphia *Press* under the pen-name of "Holland," sent to that paper for publication August 29 a three-column story, telling in accurate detail of the operations and what had made them necessary. This provoked a storm of denial and vituperation. L. Clarke Davis, father of Richard Harding Davis, was then editor of the *Public Ledger* and a close friend of the President. He published a semi-official repudiation of the story, saying it "had a real

basis in a toothache." From all parts of the country resounded cries that "Holland" was a "calamity liar" and a "cancer fakir." (The people had not forgot Grant's fate, and were fearful.) For a score of years Edwards, who had written only the truth, rested under a cloud. Cleveland survived the operation fifteen years, without a return of the sarcoma. After his death, and the death of members of his Cabinet who had officially deceived the public, the full facts were set forth by one of the surgeons, and "Holland's" reputation was cleared.

III

Woodrow Wilson inaugurated conferences with the whole corps of correspondents in Washington, and was the father of the "Official Spokesman." He could not be quoted directly, but information which he gave out was printed as coming from "a high authority," a close friend, or a White House official. Questions were put to him verbally twice weekly, and he showed a great deal of skill in parrying those he did not think it best to answer. When some of the correspondents, whom he suspected of being unfriendly, tried to embarrass him by pinning him down, he stopped the meetings and turned to the Cabinet members and his personal secretary as avenues of publicity. He had set a precedent, however; and when Harding became President he revived the conferences. A former newspaper man, he talked to the correspondents in their own lingo, freely and frankly. During the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments a question was put to him regarding the Four-Power Treaty; did it

cover Japan as a cluster of Pacific islands, or was Japan regarded as part of the Asiatic mainland? Harding answered off-hand, and got it wrong. Straightway there was a huge pother among Ambassadors, Ministers Plenipotentiary, experts, secretaries and advisers. The President, to calm the furore, issued a personal statement. He, and not the corps of correspondents, was to blame. It was his mistake. Never before had a President of the United States taken such a stand; it had been too easy to say that the reporters had got things wrong. But the incident was characteristic of Harding's dealings with newspaper men, and goes a long way toward explaining their warm devotion to him.

Charles Evans Hughes, then Secretary of State, suggested coldly to the President after this blunder that he require the correspondents to submit their questions in writing beforehand, and this plan has been followed ever since. Mr. Coolidge receives from fifty to one hundred correspondents every Tuesday at noon and on Fridays at four in the afternoon: on Tuesdays for the benefit of the afternoon papers and on Fridays for the morning papers. A stenographer records all that is said, and at first a transcript of his notes was given to the correspondents; but when Mr. Coolidge's plan for a 1926 tax reduction was made public, and verified by the notes, after his denial, the President discontinued them. After that one of the reporters took a stenographer to the conference with him. This was a matter of mere mechanics, but as soon as Mr. Coolidge saw what was happening he ejected the man.

The correspondents do not know shorthand. They leave the circular conference chamber with some home-made abbreviations of their own and with a considerable latitude as to what use they shall make of the material. Once, when a question arose about recognizing the Russian Soviet government, we read in one paper that Mr. Coolidge was unalterably opposed to recognition, in another that he was moving toward recognition, in another that recent developments had caused a review of this nation's position, in another that the Hughes policy was unchanged, in another that the Government's position had been stated clearly three years before, in another that the Government's position was very generally misunderstood. That is the kind of reporting that comes often out of anonymous interviews, in which the reporter is almost as irresponsible as the President himself. The derision poked at the "White House Spokesman" caused his death—as a figure of speech—in 1927; but the press conferences went on.

Presidential anonymity on such occasions is based on the precedent that Kings and Popes cannot be quoted. The system has its advantages for both sides. It enables the correspondents to establish a contact, however shifty, with the White House; it enables the President to strike while the news is hot, and screens him from attack by his enemies in the Senate and elsewhere. For him, it is invaluable publicity. The correspondents dislike it. Conversationally they referred to the "White House Spokesman," when he existed, as The Executive Larynx or The Presidential Ghost.

A few newspapers maintain that the conferences should be stopped unless there can be direct responsibility for what is said; some think the correspondent should have at least a transcript of what is said; many are indifferent. Until there is concerted action by the whole press, there is likely to be no radical change in the system. It extends, on the contrary, to Cabinet members, Congressmen and many subordinates. I remember having been sent as a free-lance to Washington to report a conference with Mr. Hughes, when he was head of the State Department. A tardy correspondent tiptoed into the room behind the Secretary, but did not escape observation. "Talking not for publication," Mr. Hughes flung parenthetically over his shoulder, and went smoothly ahead with his sentence. As a fact he *was* talking for publication; but he used a phrase common to the Washington vocabulary. Mr. Hughes would have been disappointed if what he said had not been published. The only thing not for publication was the origin of the information.

A later incident in the State Department attracted much unfavorable attention. Robert E. Olds, assistant Secretary of State and a former law partner of Secretary Kellogg, summoned to his office representatives of the principal news-gathering agencies, the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News, in order to tell them he had information that Mexico was planning and was effecting a Bolshevist hegemony of Central America. (Mr. Kellogg afterward issued a somewhat equivocal denial of this, but the facts are as stated.) The newspaper men told Mr. Olds it would be easy to get

this news onto the first page of every paper in the country if he would stand sponsor for it. This he hastily declined to do: He could not issue such a statement about a friendly neighboring government. The correspondent for the United Press, which serves the Scripps-Howard group and other papers, and the correspondent of the International, owned by the Hearst group, refused to put out the story, which was afterward proved false. The Associated Press sent it to twelve hundred newspapers, including all the leading dailies excepting the two groups I have mentioned, and thus reached an audience of twenty-four millions with a piece of thoroughly discreditable propaganda.

The only thing especially out of the ordinary about this incident was that it became widely known. Similar propaganda is not unusual. I ask you to note the statement of L. C. Probert, then Washington manager of the Associated Press, when asked about it: "We got the story *in the usual course of news* and we had no reason to doubt its accuracy."

The Committee on Integrity of the Press, of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, subsequently reported: "Your committee believes that an attack on the integrity of the press is launched every time a public official attempts to feed colored news to a newspaper or news service. . . . Every editor knows that the national government, every State and every local government, contains officials the chief end of whose waking and sleeping hours is to use the press for individual or party advantage.

Are we not a little too complacent in the face of this evil?"

IV

The complacency of the press in such matters is in part the reflection of a public state of mind. The present diminution of interest in politics, which began to be evident at the beginning of this century, arises from causes beyond the scope of this discussion; but this lethargy is visible, to any one who will look, in our newspapers themselves. They print a greater volume of political stuff than in the days when men took their politics straight, and took it with religious intensity; but they display less energy and acumen in gathering and presenting political news. When there was an all-night session of Congress in the nineties, for example, or a Senate filibuster, correspondents remained on duty continuously, and sent bulletins to their papers up to the last minute before the last edition. Nowadays the telegraphers go off duty at midnight. Even those correspondents who hang around the Capitol after that hour listlessly neglect to telephone their news editors about developments. To say that Congress is not as interesting now as in the nineties begs the question: Congress is a mirror, or should be, of the electorate.

And the inability of the electorate to distinguish between the policies of the major parties finds an echo in the fact that the American press is, with a few exceptions, an Administration press. The reason offered for this is that the President is bigger than either party, and that

as Chief Executive of the whole nation his hands should be upheld by everybody. It is not a healthful theory, under a two-party system. An effective and fertile opposition is a necessity. "Of all the evils most to be dreaded by a free country," said Daniel Webster, "the worst is a Government press." We have in this country virtually a Government press, although it is not subsidized, as were the organs of an earlier day. When Administration policies are criticized it is seldom because of their partisan nature. Mr. Coolidge's demand, for instance, that there should be no adverse comment on his foreign policy, was opposed, although more mildly than some may have thought justifiable. To be pro-Administration in such circumstances would have been anti-newspaper. In the last chapter we will return to this incident; for the present I ask you to note that the *New York Times,* as a rule quite lost in admiration of the policies of Messrs. Coolidge and Mellon and Hoover, delivered a rebuke, from which I wish to quote a few extra-sensible words. They apply forcibly not only to secrecy about our foreign policy but to the Cleveland operations and at many other points:

A newspaper is primarily a collector and purveyor of news as news. It is not the business of a newspaper to stop and ask what will be the effect of news it prints—whom this story will help, whom that story will hurt. A newspaper that followed such a policy would be like a historian or scientist who continually asked himself what it was for the benefit of mankind to know and what ought to be kept hidden from it.

Newspapers are founded upon the principle that it is

well for the world to be aware of what it is doing day by day. For them to suppress anything on the ground that people would be better off without knowing it would be as gross a violation of their responsibility to the public as would be the deliberate printing of something they knew to be false from the same lofty but mistaken motive.

Many a newspaper might well take to heart these sound sentences. They cast an incidental light on censorship.

V

Washington is often called the graveyard of good newspaper men. The corps of correspondents there represents the very flower of the American press. Its members are men and women of good training, sound judgment and high character. No newspaper would send to the capital a representative not well-informed, intelligent and thoroughly trustworthy. The first effect I have noticed in the output of a fresh worker in this vineyard is that he adopts the current patter, writes around what he is saying rather than say it outright, and colors it thinly with the view acceptable to the editors back home. In Washington the editorial tinge in news dispatches has lingered longer than elsewhere. It lingers, too, in local political piffle. There is a certain sameness of effect in all the stuff which comes out of the capital; there are traces of weariness in it, and, I am afraid, of indolence. I know a former correspondent who made a wager with a rival that he could "cover" Washington for thirty days without leaving his office and without being beaten on the news. He won the wager.

All departmental, commission and bureau news is pre-

pared by publicity men in Governmental employ, who mail releases to the correspondents and to the National Press Club. Tons of this stuff go out every month. Most members of Congress have their paid publicity agencies. As for news out of the routine, organizations for and against the tariff, for and against farm relief, for and against this and that, emit a constant stream of propaganda. Without going beyond the data thus put into his hands, the correspondent can write or paste up daily thrice what his paper will print. Washington is this country's premier city of publicity hand-outs.

The resulting—the almost inevitable—indolence, is not the worst influence at work on the correspondent. The Administration stands at the source of the news, and, if he prove unruly, is in a position to discipline him by withholding, or making it difficult for him to get, the commodity which his paper demands—the news. There plays upon him a constant spray of opinion and of fact as construed by irresponsible officials. He is subject to an atmosphere of complaisance with the game of politics as it is played.

This adaptation of the correspondent to his environment was revealed sharply to me on one occasion. I heard in New York of a situation at the capital which seemed to me shocking, and which so aroused a newspaper editor to whom I reported the rumor, as to cause the paper to send me on a trip of investigation. The rumor was milder than the facts. Every Washington correspondent of half a dozen with whom I talked knew the facts, and assured me the others did. A few had

mentioned them casually in dispatches. They had done this casually because to them, steeped in the political stew, the situation was but natural. Men of fine sensibilities as individuals, and of high integrity in their personal dealings, they seemed to have become calloused to political skullduggery. Newspaper men are seldom men of strong convictions; their work seems somehow to militate against that. It is nothing unusual to see a Washington correspondent shift without the slightest jar from a newspaper of one political complexion to another of the opposite camp. The transfer is the easier because there is seldom much difference in the kind of stuff the two journals want; but it is the sort of thing which, had it happened during the last century, would have provoked, almost certainly, cries of "turncoat."

Thus many a correspondent who goes to Washington as a crusader winds up as a conformist. There clings about dispatches from the capital a miasmatic haze, due in part to the deterioration of the reporter, in part to the propagandizing of screened officials.

VI

What happens to the Washington correspondent under the present system of pro-Administration newspapers (virtually Government papers), and what happens to the papers in their relation to Washington news, is revealed by the history of the Teapot Dome scandal. I am not interested in that scandal as it affects either party, and it may not be amiss to add that the Washington news system works as badly under one party as another. Only those

facts about Teapot Dome are pertinent here which illumine the practices and the standards of present-day journalism. Those facts alone will be set down.

The Teapot Dome lease was executed on April 7, 1922. One week later the *Wall Street Journal* printed on its first page details of the transaction, under the most conspicuous headline in the paper. It was a long story, from this paper's Washington bureau; it was evidently inspired and dwelt at length on the advantages which would accrue to the United States from the deal, as well as the advantages of private rather than Government development of the naval oil reserves. It did not tell what department made the lease, but on the second page, where it was continued, there was a follow-item from Wyoming revealing that the Interior, not the Navy, Department had acted. Under that was another Washington dispatch saying Secretary Fall was on his way to California with a view to applying the new policy to the naval reserves there.

Here was enough material to set any alert managing editor atiptoe for an inquiry.

Meanwhile Senator Kendrick of Wyoming received numerous importunate inquiries from his constituents as to what was afoot. He announced this to the Senate, and Washington correspondents applied to the Department of the Interior for information, without success. A resolution of inquiry was then passed, and some documents were exhibited for examination. Senator LaFollette publicly denounced the transaction; so did former Governor Brooks of Wyoming; so did former Secretary of the Navy Daniels.

The *New York Times,* in a Sunday supplement of May 7, 1922, summarized these objections. Its Washington correspondent wrote that the whole capital was astir over the situation. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* also aired the case on the basis of Senator LaFollette's speech. During the next month the Denver *Post* sent a reporter on the first of two trips into New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas to investigate the lease and the state of Secretary Albert B. Fall's finances. It printed during the Summer four articles and cartoons dealing with the subject. The *Post* was owned jointly by Fred G. Bonfils and H. H. Tammen. The latter, who is now dead, made a trip to New York and saw Harry F. Sinclair, chief of the oil speculators behind the Teapot Dome lease. In November of that year the *Rocky Mountain News,* a competing newspaper, under a first-page headline, "Teapot Dome Scandal Nicely Hushed," printed a long story regarding the relation of its competitor to the lease.

Subsequently it transpired that Leo Stack, who had been disappointed in an attempted deal with the oil speculators, had inspired the attacks in the *Post,* and had gone so far as to file a suit, without filing a complaint. "After some negotiations in New York and Kansas City," said the Senate investigating committee's report, "Sinclair settled this suit by an agreement under which he paid $250,000 and agreed to pay $750,000 more. The attacks of the newspaper thereupon ceased. The proprietor of a rival newspaper, upon a claim even more shadowy, if indeed it can be called a claim at all, got $92,500 out of

the Pioneer Oil Company as his share of the moneys yielded up by Sinclair."

Beginning with the publication of a misleading story in the *Wall Street Journal,* there were publications in various parts of the United States during six months throwing much light on the Teapot Dome deal. Adolph S. Ochs has said publicly: "We had early information concerning the oil scandals, but we would not print one word about them until the reports were confirmed at Washington." He was making the point that the *New York Times* was not an irresponsible newspaper; and as we will see, later, he does not count it a part of a newspaper's responsibility to protect the public against such transactions, at least not the paper's duty to investigate scandals on its own account and on behalf of its readers. This point we will consider more fully in dealing with changing newspaper morality; the point to be made now is that the morality of the whole press was such that it winked at the Teapot Dome deal, until, two years after it was consummated, a Senate investigating committee exposed it.

VII

The proved facts in regard to the Denver *Post* and the *Rocky Mountain News* were such as to call forth denunciations from other editors and publishers. (The *Rocky Mountain News* at that time was the property of John C. Shaffer, a Chicago grain merchant, public utility promoter and owner of a newspaper chain.) George S. Johns of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* said that "it suggests the

SERVICE
You are entitled to prompt and regular delivery of The News. If you don't get it, call the main office and you will receive immediate attention. Main 6840.

CITY EDITION

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS

COLORADO'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

VOL. LXIII: NO. 309. DENVER, COLO., SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1922.—64 PAGES. PRICE 5 CENTS

VICIOUS FIGHT ON TEAPOT DEAL NICELY HUSHED

Tempest Is Calmed at 'Habitation of Justice,' and Harry Sinclair Becomes Object of Praise.

STORM IS STILLED BY DOLLARS, SAY OIL MEN

Story of Intrigue Is Back of Naval Reserve Leasing Fight.

Fulsome praise in place of vitriolic attacks will be the lot hereafter of Harry Sinclair, oil magnate, in the Denver Post, for, in the vernacular of the street, the Post owners have "got theirs" in the Teapot Dome deal in oil lands in Wyoming. There are reports current that the tempest in the Teapot has been stilled by dollars. This tempest raged violently in the Denver paper some months ago.

It is said that the Teapot Dome case was injected into the Democratic state platform of Colorado in a condemnatory paragraph at the solicitation of the Denver Post, either under a direct promise or a hint that such a paragraph in the platform

Teapot Oil Storm On Champa Street Is Nicely Hushed

(Continued From Page One.)

paid by the Mammoth Oil company, a Sinclair company.

Stack immediately charged that, in plain language, he had been "double-crossed" in the deal. His contention was that Blackmer, Doheny and Sinclair had conspired together to beat him out of his contract, and that the whole deal had been put thru without his knowledge or his consent, whereas he was the central party—or should have been—in the entire deal.

It is said that Stack was offered $50,000, which he refused, to withdraw his complaint, and that later this sum had been raised to $100,000, but he refused, asserting that the Teapot Dome lease, known as the Stack lease, as it had been obtained in his name, was worth $100,000,000.

Stack took up his case with Karl C. Schuyler as his attorney, with Attorney Swartz of Casper looking after his interests in that city.

Now is where F. G. Bonfils and H. H. Tammen, owners of the Denver Post, come in on the play.

50-50 Split.

Stack, realizing that he had a hard fight on his hands and was opposed by many millions of dollars, looked around for backing and also publicity. His deal with Bonfils was that he was to receive the first $100,000 paid and the rest over this $100,000 was to be divided 50-50 with Bonfils, and out of his own fifty he was to pay Schuyler and such other attorneys as were required to push the case thru to a satisfactorily settlement for them.

Bonfils played true to form. The columns of the Denver Post opened the first week in June last its vitriolic attacks upon Sinclair, Secretary of the Interior Fall and even President Harding, with Sinclair being the pivot around which revolved the attacks upon the others. There were printed matter and cartoons, and every few days there would be an eruption. Sinclair was

Two years before the Senate began investigating the Teapot Dome oil scandals, the Rocky Mountain News *(November 5, 1922), taunted its neighbor, the Denver* Post. *Other newspapers made no exposure until an investigation was undertaken for them.*

question of criminality rather than that of newspaper ethics." Others did not split this hair. William E. Gonzales of the Columbia (S. C.) *State* said, "I am thinking the revelation of Bonfils' attitude toward journalism is a forecast of what may be common with the development of a 'commercialized press.'" Casper S. Yost of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* declared: "It is essential to realize that a newspaper is an instrument of public service, and that its owners and editors are under obligations to make that service faithful." And Ralph Stout of the Kansas City *Star* asserted that "the vastly preponderant number of honest newspapers owe it to themselves to find a way to brand these jackals so that all people may know them."

If a physician were to lay himself liable to such vilification, and offer no defence, his brothers in the profession would throw him out of it; if a lawyer, he would be disbarred; if a clergyman, he would be unfrocked. Professional standards are maintained by the exercise of drastic discipline against offenders. There appears to be no professional standard in journalism. The American Newspaper Editors Society has a Committee on Ethics, which investigated Bonfils and Tammen, but it reported that their deal with Sinclair had taken place before the society adopted its high-sounding Code of Ethics. The committee was confronted with the technical difficulty that it could not recommend retroactive discipline. Yet when Bonfils, subsequently, desired an Associated Press franchise for a new paper, he had no difficulty in getting it. The Associated Press is ostensibly a coöperative enterprise, a sort of club; in New York it is incorporated under

the same law as social clubs. A single blackball is enough to bar any applicant for membership. Bonfils was welcome in this fraternity, comprising twelve hundred of the foremost editors and publishers in the United States.

The aftermath of the Teapot Dome lease reveals not only that the American press has no standards of ethical and professional practice, but that it recognizes no urgent obligation to protect the public against illegal deals between public officials and multimillionaires. I am safe in saying that most of the metropolitan newspapers and practically all the Washington correspondents were aware that there was corruption afoot. All were fairly well-informed on the subject. This was not a private but a public scandal, clearly within the province of every newspaper which took seriously the basis of its constitutional guarantee and its obligation to the public.

The cause of the newspaper laxity regarding Teapot Dome goes back in large measure to its complaisance with the present system of news-dissemination at the national capital. So long as the press tolerates the anonymous interview and truckles to minor bureaucrats it must assume the character of an Administration organ. It must continue to tie the hands even of its ablest correspondents. It must be guarded and timorous in its criticism of public officials.

"An epidemic itch for manipulating the public has infected the whole population," says Everett Dean Martin in "The Meaning of a Liberal Education." "Press agents, publicity experts, advertisers and propagandists have become a pest. Much of the news is 'treated' for

interests which may or may not be disclosed. . . . Every government, our own included, fights with propaganda as deadly as poison gas." In another chapter I will discuss the general work of the publicity agent, but it is worth while to note now that nowhere will such striking justification of Mr. Martin's observations be found as in Washington; and nowhere is the press itself more clearly responsible for the conditions which prevail.

CHAPTER IV

REPORTERS: THEN AND NOW

Is the Adventurer Becoming a Machine?

I

AS a cub reporter, Norman Hapgood was a fine writer. Fresh from Harvard, he did not think much of his job nor of his prospects. He sat around on space in the office of the old New York *Evening Post,* and looked disdainfully upon the reporters who rushed in, hat brims turned down, coat collars turned up, leaped at desks and began writing feverishly for the next edition. To Hapgood, this was not real writing. It was scribbling. He was a believer in the well-turned phrase.

One afternoon, three-quarters of an hour before an important edition, the Ireland Building, a seventeen-story skyscraper not far away, collapsed. The City Editor, apprised of the catastrophe, looked about the office with a sort of despair. There was nothing for it but to send the high-hat young man from Harvard out on the story. Hapgood set forth, thinking up suitable phrases as he walked toward the scene. There he found ruin and tragedy. Workmen had been killed. Somebody was to blame. Certainly all the flashing phrases he had conjured up would be justified. While he was watching the goings-on with kindling interest, one of those irresponsible

pell-mell reporters approached at a lope and plunged into the crowd. He recognized the fellow. It was Lincoln Steffens, also of the *Evening Post* staff, who had arrived without being sent, and who apparently had not the slightest thought of verbal felicities.

Presently it occurred to Hapgood that he'd better telephone the City Editor that the building had indeed fallen. He had that, and enough more, by a cudgelling of his wits under expert cross-examination, to build out, let us say, a stickful of type. While he was floundering under an avalanche of profane and beseeching outcries from the other end of the wire he heard a cool voice behind him. "Maybe I can give you a lift, Mr. Hapgood." Then Steffens took the transmitter and dictated to the City Editor a story so orderly, complete and dramatic that the morning newspapers could do no more than rewrite an inferior imitation.

From that moment Norman Hapgood wanted to be a reporter, and he became an excellent one. His inspiration was that he had seen a real reporter in action, getting the facts, getting them accurately and fully, and thinking up his effective phrases later. Steffens, the youth realized, was first to give the world a superior and tragic story. In such a rôle there is an acute personal aggrandizement. One derives from it the satisfaction which Mrs. Galewski experiences when she passes to a neighbor a fresh tidbit of gossip. One experiences the joy, on more momentous occasions, which must have been Paul Revere's when, as a sort of morning newspaper extra, he made the midnight ride to Lexington.

So long as the tribe of reporters persists, this must be its chief reward. "The journalist," William Dean Howells once observed, "stands nearest the universal heart." What the newspaper reporter stands nearest to is no more the universal heart than jazz is universal music or caviar universal food. But it is a pulse, usually a thumping pulse, and its rhythm is his perennial pleasure. This is the sure excitement for which he barters his time and his energies. It is about all he has left. The day of high emprise in daily journalism is passing.

II

Even at the risk of provoking the reproach that I am casting unmerited glamor over "the good old days," I must insist that the legend of the reporter as a picturesque and adventurous figure, however persistently maintained in newspaper offices as a present-day actuality, is but a legend. Coöperation has replaced the sharp competition which gave zest to the game twenty years ago and longer. "A beat," said Julian Ralph of the old *Sun,* "is an exclusive piece of news, and the getting thereof is the highest aim and the proudest achievement of a reporter." So it was, in his day. Now, when high-speed machinery has reduced the beat to a matter, say, of an hour, at the end of which competing newspapers are on the street with the same story, the beat has lost its mercantile value. Reporters seldom strive for it. Instead, they work in squads. They interview celebrities in groups, and apportion among themselves the labor on a big story, sharing their gleanings

later. The only rivalry left to them lies in the effort to get more space and display for the same material.

Not much play for competitive zeal remains. The rigid conventions by which news is graded militate against it. So do the rigid conventions of news-writing and the standardization of news-gathering methods. The conflict and initiative which once made the craft attractive have been well-nigh strangled. Let a conspicuous story be written outside the prescribed formula and readers of that newspaper at once write to the Editor to express their pleasure in the performance, but the Editor seems to take no heed. He demands that the most startling fact shall be told in the first paragraph, and subordinate facts in order thereafter, so that if any cutting must be done in the rush of make-up it can be done "from the bottom up." The story is a twice- or thrice-told tale. It is told in the headlines and again, in accordance with an almost inescapable prescription, once or twice in the smaller type of the narrative.

Less and less does the man who writes the news have actual contact with the event. The press-agent and the counsellor in public relations, for one thing, are encroaching more and more on the reportorial province. Such tidings as are not rewritten or pasted up from publicity handouts, must be telephoned more often than not to the office, where a "rewrite man" grinds it out. In these instances the reporter on the spot is merely a "leg-man," having little chance to do any writing; and the writer misses the authentic thrill of the news in motion. In the process, whatever effervescence may be inherent in the narrative is

likely to evaporate. Inaccuracies are likely to creep in. What used to be a *story* (and is still so called) has ceased to bear the tale-teller's hall-mark. It is a commodity handled with the speed and celerity of a cake of Ivory Soap. It is a mass product.

Sir Robert Donald, a London editor, has envisaged the future newspaper somewhat in this wise: It will be smaller, sometimes printed in colors; and photographs, many of them sent by wire, will tend more and more to crowd out the news. Before an earthquake in Japan has subsided, or an eruption of Vesuvius, pictures of the event will be in print in New York and London. As for the reporter, he will carry no notebook, not he; nor scraps of copy-paper, on which to jot down dates, figures and names. No, he will have a microphone, and convey his intelligence to his newspaper office by radio.

III

The scoop went by the board because it didn't pay. The gentle art of faking, too, has gone out of fashion. (I am ignoring here the tabloid picture papers and their reporters; in them, as we shall see, the practices of "yellow" journalism have been revived.) There was no need to hire second-rate writers to cook up phantasies after the globe came within arm's length of the press everywhere, and its whole population was producing news more startling, more touching, more momentous, than the fancy of man could conceive of. Even innocent fakes, moreover, have a way of coming home to roost. The last survivor of the group which reported the Chicago fire of 1871

admitted, shortly before his death, that Mrs. O'Leary's cow had not kicked over the lantern. The fire had started from spontaneous combustion in a hayloft, but a fretful Bossie seemed to the reporters a more picturesque origin of the disaster. The myth was embalmed in song and story; it is a part of our childhood heritage; and a disenchanted public is aggrieved and distrustful at being let down in this fashion.

Did Dewey say at Manila, "Fire when ready, Gridley!"? It is denied. Did George F. Baer ("Divine Right Baer") speak of the divine right of property? He bitterly denied authorship of the phrase. Was Uncle Joe Cannon a wit? He himself disclaimed it, and attributed his national reputation to the Washington correspondents, who knew he would not repudiate what they put into his mouth. More than once the wisecracks turned to gall in his throat, but he was loyally silent.

For the fake there was no excuse, and the competition for a beat often put undue emphasis on speed at the cost of accuracy. No tears need be shed over the obsolescence of either. I have noted their passing as part of the change which has come in the technique of reporting for the substantial press. By the substantial press I mean the more conservative and prosperous newspapers.

The "detective-reporter" is moving into limbo, too. When a Boston note-broker, his mind deranged, demanded a million and a quarter from Russell Sage, and at the cry for help dropped his bomb, wrecking the building, injuring eight persons and blowing himself into smithereens, a *World* reporter picked up a suspender button. Within a

week he had identified the man and thoroughly dissipated the mystery, working solely on the basis of that button and the fragment of cloth which clung to it. On the day the *World* so reported to Mr. Sage, the New York police had told him that the explosion was part of an international plot, and that the villains would be rounded up within a few weeks. In 1921 there was another explosion in Wall Street, even more disastrous; but by this time the reporter who had read books in suspender buttons was busy getting the low-down on persons suing the *World* for libel; and the second outrage remains a mystery, perpetrated, we are assured by the police, through the diabolic cunning of an international gang.

When we compare a long list of murder mysteries solved by the press in the latter part of the last century and the early part of this, with a long list of murders since then which remain mysteries, we begin to suspect that the amateur newspaper-detective had his uses. I remember that I travelled some two thousand miles with a skull in my suitcase, attempting to identify it. The story lay in the fact that the skull had eleven gold teeth. And once I made a trip in an open skiff from Nashville down the Cumberland River to the Ohio, and thence to Cairo, Illinois, to see whether a body might have floated through it, over or through two locks and dams: a woman had been murdered in Nashville, and her body had been taken from the river at Cairo. I have stolen a telegram in the routine of my reportorial duties, and I have been guilty of other shady practices. I was not working in New York when it was the way of American heiresses to buy

European titles in the marriage market, but I am credibly told that even reporters for the conservative newspapers of that day, such papers as the old *Tribune* and *Sun* and *Times,* bribed dressmakers to get details of trousseaux, and spied incorrigibly upon the titled bridegrooms. Did de Castellane owe a laundry bill? A pious press blazoned the fact to the world. The reporters who procured their facts and photographs by such methods felt no scruple about it. It was a part of the journalistic *mores.* It was a conventional offence.

IV

My exploits with the skull and in the open skiff were stunts as well as detective work. One of the penalties of sensational journalism is that it must pander without ceasing to a public appetite which it brings into being and nourishes. If there is no excitement ready-made, some must be manufactured. These stunts gave to reporting of an elder day a large measure of its fascination. The elder Bennett's assignment of Henry M. Stanley to find Livingstone in Africa was the most celebrated of such early adventures, and set the pace for many another. Nellie Bly was sent around the world, and interviewed Jules Verne (whose fictional eighty-day trip she was out to beat) while on the way. A Hearst reporter rescued a beautiful maiden from a Spanish prison in Cuba, as part of the journalistic propaganda for war. A reporter or a squad of reporters might be detached for days and weeks from routine duties to work up some such exploit.

The only extended interview the elder Rockefeller ever

gave was the product of such a stunt, and the story is worth retelling here as an illustration. Marlen Pew, then on the staff of the Scripps-McRae papers, hung around the gateway of the Tarrytown estate for six days before he got at the oil magnate. He learned that on certain days a cab from the nearby village was permitted to take sight-seers through the ground, with the stipulation that they should not leave the vehicle, and that the roadway ran alongside the private golf course. This was in December, 1906; and idling about a gateway, even in that gracious countryside made famous by Washington Irving, was not the acme of comfort. But on the sixth day the reporter drove in the cab through the grounds, like an argonaut in quest of the fleece of the winged ram Chrysomallus. I mean, he probably felt as though he were after the Golden Fleece. He had worked "like a first-class burglar" (as he says) for this moment, carefully surveying the grounds and studying the habits of the family and servants living at the lodge, then occupied pending the completion of Mr. Rockefeller's castle beside the Hudson. As soon as he spied in the distance a group of golfers and caddies he leaped from the moving cab and ran across the field amid the imprecations of the driver. He was on his way to a big story and a big beat, and there were wings on his heels.

The amazement, alarm and disgust of the group did not daunt the reporter. He explained hastily why he was there, said Mr. Rockefeller was still a public character, although he had retired from active business, and that he ought not remain a mystery to newspaper readers. "Mil-

lions of people," he added craftily, "believe you are a dried-up old miser, eating crackers and nuts because your digestion has been ruined by a rich man's excesses." Mr. Rockefeller said timidly that his family would scold him if he talked for publication; nevertheless, himself doing the interviewing, he permitted the reporter to walk along with him, learned that he had known the newspaper man's father back in Ohio, and invited him to lunch. After the meal the two talked for hours, and Mr. Rockefeller forecast (although business was in full blast, with every symptom of prosperity) the panic of 1907. The story filled a page, and was printed not only throughout this country, but in part abroad. It did much to assuage the hostility against the millionaire, aroused in part by Miss Ida Tarbell's muckraking.

It can be no consolation to Marlen Pew, a good reporter, an able editor and a sworn enemy of the press agent, that this incident had a great deal to do with the decision of the Rockefellers to employ a publicity man. What Mr. Pew did in 1906 could not be done now. Any newspaper man who wishes to talk to either the elder Rockefeller or his son, or any executive in their corporations, is sent to their counsellor in public relations. Whatever news goes out is filtered through this intermediary. In the next chapter we shall see how the reporter has lost thus half his kingdom.

V

It is commonly said that the reporter meets a great many interesting persons. This is true; but the persons he

meets show to him their least interesting side. He meets them as an interviewer, or as one of a battery of interviewers. To such questions as, What is your favorite flower? or, Do you advocate the cancellation of the international debts? or, Is equal suffrage the answer to social unrest in the Balkans? the interviewee (unless a publicity agent has prepared a hand-out in advance) presents a hostile or perplexed front. In my own talks with many celebrities in many walks of life, I have never enjoyed but one interesting experience, and that when I was a cub, utterly ignorant of national politics, and was assigned to interview William Jennings Bryan. I sat on the edge of a hotel bathtub while Bryan shaved and suggested questions as well as answered them. This was an honest interview, because one man did it all. It was not a hybrid, representing truthfully neither party to the transaction.

The interview is an invention of American journalism, and is credited, or discredited, to J. B. McCullagh. Wherever it originated, it was taken up quickly in New York, and became a routine of reportorial work. As far back as 1869 the London *Daily News* observed that "a portion of the daily newspapers in New York are bringing the profession of journalism into contempt, so far as they can, by a kind of toadyism or flunkeyism which they call 'interviewing.'" That same year *The Nation* observed that this form of enterprise was "generally the joint product of some humbug of a hack politician and another humbug of a newspaper reporter." By 1886 the *Pall Mall Gazette* of London was moved to declare that it was "degrading to the interviewer, disgusting to the interviewee,

and tiresome to the public"; and James Russell Lowell, on this side of the water, was hoping that affairs might be "kept sacred from the insupportable foot of the interviewer." Yet even now newspapers pretend that these snapshots mirror the spiritual and moral qualities of persons in the public eye, that they are pen pictures, that they are accurate analyses. As a fact their mercantile basis lies in this: that they afford to the press, at nominal cost or none at all, an opportunity to exploit the personality of a celebrity. In France, Georges Clemenceau exclaims that in his day journalists talked for the public, but that now the public talks for the journalists.

The hard-boiled celebrity ponders thoughtfully whether the resulting publicity is worth as much to him or her as the material is worth to the newspaper. Some writers, who are under contract to manuscript brokers, are forbidden to talk for publication unless paid to do it. And David Lloyd George has sold all he says and writes to an American newspaper syndicate; so that if a London journalist wished to discuss British politics with the former Premier, after he had regained some of his old power, tribute must be paid to the syndicate here. There seems no good reason why a young woman who has committed murder—especially if she has the good fortune to be comely—should not pay all the costs of her defence with a comfortable sum left over, if she has the good sense to sell what she says to the newspapers, or writes for them, or permits to be printed under her signature when some one else has written it. The lot of the reporter thus becomes more and more dubious.

The symposium, which was an excrescence from the interview, fortunately is disappearing from the press. A dozen persons, limited to two hundred words each on one subject, have been found to say pretty much the same thing. The monotony of the device had tended to kill it, and to remove from the tasks allotted to the reporter one of the most onerous.

VI

Newspaper accounts of wrecks, fires, banquets and transactions on the stock exchanges are remarkably accurate, considering the speed with which they are gathered and given to the public. But there was an instance, when Alexander Kerensky was assaulted by a woman upon the stage of the Century Theatre in New York, calculated to impair public confidence in the powers and credibility of the reporter as a witness. Every New York newspaper had its reporter there, and no two gave the same account of what had happened to the former Russian Premier. Here are some samples:

World:—"Slashed him viciously across the cheek with her gloves."

American:—"Dropped her flowers and slapped him in the face with her gloves."

News:—"Struck him on the left cheek with her bouquet."

Times:—"Slapped his face vigorously three times with her gloves."

Herald Tribune:—"Beat him on the face and head half a dozen blows."

Evening World:—"Struck him across the face several times."

Mirror:—"Struck him a single blow."

Post:—"Vigorously and accurately slapped him."

To test a group's accuracy of observation in some such fashion as this is a favorite parlor game. It is surprising how much more some persons see than others, and how much some persons see which has never happened. But the reporter is supposed to be specially trained for such tests, and to be atiptoe for them. Here we had a hand-picked group. The occasion was important and to the liking of most newspapers, as Kerensky was there to denounce Bolshevism. Since the Russian could speak no English, a "hand-out" of his address had been prepared and was in the hands of each reporter, as well as of the interpreter. The reporters felt, as they must in such circumstances, that their presence was a mere formality. The "canned" publicity material which floods newspapers inevitably tends to make reporters slovenly.

When the reporter, or the headline writer (a graduate reporter), seeks to make a story better than it is, there is the possibility of damage. Let me tell of instances, none extreme. The editor-in-chief of the Louisville *Times* shall be the spokesman in the first instance:

"My next-door neighbor, whose wife died last June, recently decided to marry his stenographer. Knowing many stenographers, I think that was a very good thing to do, but he felt a little uneasy about it and asked me if I couldn't keep it out of the paper. I told him the ethics of journalism would not permit my keeping it out

of the paper, but that our paper, being full of ethics, would print nothing he would regret—only a dignified announcement.

"To my horror I picked up the paper that afternoon and on the front page I found a headline saying that a capitalist had married his stenographer and that the romance had begun seven years before in his office. Then below was the statement that his wife had died last June.

"This was done right under the nose of our ethics. I found out subsequently that not all of it had been intended. The bride had given a dignified announcement, and one of the reporters, to pep this up a bit, had written that the acquaintance began in the office, not inquiring whether the bridegroom was a widower or a bachelor. Somebody looked up the notice of his wife's death and tacked on that fact. The City Editor didn't see the whole thing until it appeared in the paper.

"Is it any of our business *when* a man's wife died if he remarries?"

The other incident had to do with a headline artist; the copy-reader, sometimes called a copy-editor, is a reporter who has been condemned as a galley-slave to desk work.

William McAndrew, superintendent of schools in Chicago, as a member of the editorial board of the *Educational Review,* wrote a signed editorial commenting on the disappearance from public schools of warlike pictures. Paintings of Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson, he said, had almost disappeared from southern schools, and he did not believe there was in a Chicago school a

single copy of "The Spirit of '76," with the drum and fife and bloody bandage. The Chicago *Tribune* printed a story about this editorial, and the headline read: "McAndrew Says Spirit of '76 Bad in Schools." He had not said this, nor did the story say it. The *Daily News* interviewed him and announced with horror that he had nothing to retract. The *Tribune* followed this with an editorial, headed, "Are the Schools Getting Yellow?" A member of the Chicago Common Council demanded an investigation; a member of the School Board, without investigation, gave out an interview that the superintendent should be fired. And all over this fair land organizations adopted ringing resolutions, declaring that Mr. McAndrew was yellow, un-American and a loathsome pacifist.

Mr. McAndrew is not a pacifist. He believes in military preparedness, although he does not think blood lust should be stimulated in school children. The storm of abuse, he wrote good-humoredly, was a tempest in a teapot. He was still superintendent of the public schools in Chicago, and there had been no official investigation. But he regretted that, owing to the zeal of a headline writer, many persons in the United States thought of him as somewhat traitorous.

Deliberate and repeated fakery, rare in these days, was charged in a statement issued in the midsummer of 1927 by twenty-five distinguished educators and scientists. This bore on publications about Dr. Knute Houck of the staff of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, who suffered a breakdown and disappeared just prior to the

finding of his wife's body in the Potomac River. She had destroyed herself. The alienist was found soon afterward wandering aimlessly in a New York town. The press introduced to the public, as an explanation of these events, "the device known as an anthropometer . . . supposed to register the innermost thoughts of a person and aid them in a psychoanalysis of themselves." It was asserted that Dr. Houck had permitted this to prey on his mind until it became "a Frankenstein that struck him down." The stories were illustrated with pictures of the "Thought Machine," and of a "mysterious" Polish Count who had invented it. "Crazed by Thinking Machine," read the headlines; "Wife, Too, Deranged by Device." The diabolical contraption thus put before millions of readers was in fact nothing more than a diagram, and the man who drew it was in no sense mysterious: he was Count Alfred Korzybski, whose book, "The Manhood of Humanity," had attracted widespread attention. Neither he nor his diagram had the remotest bearing on the disappearance of Dr. Houck or the suicide of his wife.

The statement issued by the scientists and educators asserted that this was not an isolated case, but typified the "willingness of the press to seize upon anything for sensational purposes."

Even graver than these incidents was a run on a New York bank, precipitated by exaggerated newspaper reports of a defalcation. The reporter holds in the hollow of his hand financial destinies and human reputations. That he does not wreck them oftener is surprising.

VII

In at least two fields of newspaper work the reporter may step beyond dry facts and wax semi-editorial. These are the fields of dramatic reviewing and sports reporting; and from these fields are recruited most of those who break over into magazine pages nowadays. (The "columnist" is not a reporter, of course, but a feature writer.) In the days of the old *Sun,* when Dana and Laffan really encouraged their men to write well, there graduated from the news field such men as David Graham Phillips, Richard Harding Davis, Will Irwin, Samuel Hopkins Adams, Ray Stannard Baker; now it is the Heywood Brouns, Ring Lardners, and Damon Runyons who graduate from the sport pages, the Woollcotts and Atkinsons who graduate from the theatre columns. Theatrical reviewing tends in the daily press to become a vaudeville performance, depending for its audience on wisecracks regardless of critical content. But it has this advantage, that the reporter is not squeezed between the corsets of the news formula, and so may express himself. He is not working according to blue-print plans and specifications.

The sport writer's freedom from restrictions has brought to his department a grotesque argot found nowhere else in journalism. It has brought also the pose as an expert in his special field. Certain writers pretend to wisdom in regard to horse-racing, and print "probable winners" at the various tracks; thus they lower themselves and their papers to the level of the unscrupulous tout of the turf.

Writers about prize-fights engage in a similar activity. In one widely advertised fight eighteen out of twenty-one of these pontifical forecasters guessed wrong; in others their showing has not been much better. The newspapers put their prestige, influence and authority behind these pretenders, and the inevitable consequence is that this part of the press loses caste and loses the respect as well as the confidence of its readers.

It is true that some persons who have the qualifications to become writers make the newspaper office a way-station to literary work, and not all of them move via the sport or dramatic desk. I think I can say with safety that they do well who tarry not too long with the daily paper. Even if they stay ever so short a while, as did Sinclair Lewis, they will be forever subject to the damning comment of the critic that their efforts are tainted with "journalese." No reproach falls with greater facility from college instructors. In a friendly criticism of Lewis's latest book the critic could not resist this temptation. Yet only a few years of the author's young manhood were spent in newspaper work, and he had ten or eleven novels behind him when the review in question was written. His own opinion of reporting as a preparation for literary work is worth noting. "Such training," he says, "is (always with exceptions) either useless or positively injurious." He declares that it teaches nothing but haste, that it cultivates the habit of writing under orders, and that it exposes the reporter to "certain high-lights of existence" which are "far less important to a genuinely creative writer than the steady, unmelodramatic, daily life which may be unin-

teresting as immediate news but which forms the basis of all veritable poetry, fiction, or criticism."

That is a sound observation. On the other hand: "Journalism," Bernard Shaw once observed, "is the highest form of literature; for all the highest literature is journalism." He was playing with words, obviously. So far as journalism includes the daily newspaper it is definitely set apart from literature in this: that it deals with crises and ignores developmental trends, that it seeks the striking rather than the fitting phrase, and that its motivation is commercial. If a news event were set forth with a rounded foreground and a background it would cease thereby to be news. The reporter need only deliver a punch. And Shaw, in "The Doctor's Dilemma," gives a dig at journalism which offsets his earlier panegyric. He says of a certain character:

> A cheerful, affable young man, who is disabled for ordinary business pursuits by a congenital erroneousness which renders him incapable of describing accurately anything he sees, or understanding or reporting accurately anything he hears. As the only employment in which these defects do not matter is journalism . . . he has perforce become a journalist.

This is as far wide of the mark as to call journalism the highest literature. In spite of the "general cruelty to language" found in headlines and real estate news; in spite of the shop-worn tricks upon which the reporter must rely for his effects; in spite of his tendency to transpire at every pore and run verbally to pools of blood, his facts in the main are accurate. And the English in our metro-

politan press is simple, effective, fairly clean. It is markedly suited to its purpose. I venture to say that in a way it has style.

VIII

Not all the adventure has been squeezed out of the reporter's life. I note that one was burned in telephoning details of a fire in Worcester, Mass., because the only phone available was in the burning building; he escaped just as the roof collapsed. I note that an Oklahoma reporter has interviewed an escaped bandit, which is reminiscent of the days when a staff man of the Kansas City *Star* used to get word in advance from the James Boys about train robberies.

And I note that women reporters share equally with their male confrères in these thrills. One of them telephoned the full details of a murder trial to her paper in Denver, although she was told as she entered the booth that her home was on fire; another has flown as an observer in a balloon race, and a balloon affords a far more fearful means of locomotion than an airplane. This same young woman got to the elder Rockefeller in attempting to interview him, but her only reward was a new dime. Another has taken part aboard a revenue cutter in a rum-runner chase off Long Island; and another, knocked down by a cab on her way to write an interview, brushed off her short skirt and went ahead with her work before consulting a physician to learn whether any bones were broken.

Women now do all the kinds of work men do in the

editorial departments of newspapers. They are no longer restricted to society items, household hints, advice to the socially incompetent, fashions and menus. It is true that the Chicago *Tribune* has six departments, each headed by a woman, devoted specially to women's interests; and that Georgette, the arbiter of fashion for the Los Angeles *Examiner,* boasts that she gets fifty thousand letters a year. It is true that Laura Jean Libby has her successors in consoling the lovelorn. And it is true that "girl reporters" are still, in some localities, expected to confine their attention to "feature stuff," or are required to join the sob-sister squad, in competition with numerous sob-brothers. But nevertheless in other localities, and particularly on the larger papers, they edit book reviews, motion picture sections and theatre pages. They sell and write advertising, market syndicate matter, and do publicity work. We have women managing editors, city editors, sport editors. There are women reporters for the Associated Press, one on the headquarters staff and one as European correspondent. The United Press has two women political reporters in Washington, who sign their stories. And to one newspaper woman a statue has been erected in McKeesport, Pa. Women reporters have even been thrown downstairs.

Yet the prejudice against women in daily journalism still exists. A New York reporter, one of three women assigned with a group of males to interview Charlie Chaplin, complained afterward that one of the males had described the women as "flapperesque sob-sisters" and "giggling girls." Another described them individually

as "the dame with an eye to the practical," "the lady who has begun to pull out a few gray ones," and "the woman who has seen something of life." This, obviously, was man's inhumanity to woman, and may be ascribed to jealousy. But a more serious complaint comes from the Ohio Newspaper Women's Association, to the effect that the copy-editor makes a sob-sister out of the woman reporter whether she will or no. The association adopted resolutions calling for an end of the "pattern story" and a free hand in the presentation of facts.

This was done after several women writers had spoken their minds on the subject. One of them ridiculed the City Editor's demand for the "poor little girl adoption story."

The facts in the case [she said] are that five hundred would-be parents are pathetically begging for every stray adoptable child. Local adoption agencies generally have a list of thousands of people wanting a dear little blue-eyed girl. It's the day's best joke in all social organizations, and it never grows old. Nowadays it is the papa and mama in sables and diamonds who wait for the ginghamed babies.

But Mr. Editor does not want that lead. He wants to razz the public for petting dogs instead of babies, and he keeps right on fighting for that story, trusting that some enterprising sob-writer will find some way of sticking to the pattern, even if the truth must be stretched a bit.

The bandit's wife may have left her husband seven long and weary years agone. But the police boys drag her in somehow for the sob-sister to write a story about. She comes. She cannot speak English, but the court interpreter sticks with the girl reporter to the bitter end. He asks the bandit's "little woman" whether she is going

to stay by her man for better or worse, and she grins and says, "Ja, me no like." She may weigh 383 pounds, have eleven chins, six stomachs and five sets of hips; but the experienced sob-writer takes her typewriter in hand to write: "Little Mrs. Cheesit, the notorious bandit's wife, appeared in court this morning 'just to be with my man, he needs me so,' as she told reporters who approached the frail figure, stooped in the big court chair, her tiny figure pathetic in its big shabby coat, a token of happier days."

We feature writers soon learn how to treat the massive sisterhood when "caught in the relentless maw of this thing called the Law."

The "grey-haired mother," the murderess as "a tragic pawn of fate," the harlot as "a rosy, glowing bud of womanhood," the dope fiend's "heart filled with eagerness to be good and true," all had their innings at this meeting. The women reporters said that if they did not write according to the "moth-eaten pattern" the copy-readers amended their copy to suit. Male reporters have their difficulties, too, on account of stereotyped news formulæ and the hoary conventions of the craft; but probably the "girl reporters" have more to contend with.

IX

In the larger cities reporting has upon it the curse of deadly routine. The reporter is expected to be as accurate as a chronometer, as suave as a diplomat, as callous as an insurance solicitor, as invincible as a Big Business go-getter. What is his reward, when measured in dollars and cents?

The Association of Teachers of Journalism appointed

a committee to find out about newspaper salaries, and it reported in 1926, after getting replies from 250 journalists who are listed in "Who's Who," 100 city editors in towns of more than 100,000 population, and 160 graduates of schools of journalism. The replies showed that at twenty-five years of age a newspaper reporter might expect a salary of twenty-five dollars a week, at thirty-five of fifty dollars a week, and at forty-five a "top" salary, as reporter or copy-reader, of $3,000 a year. Many of those who answered the questionnaire thought a man's powers, instead of being at full flower when he reached forty-five, had begun seriously to decline, owing to the fact that newspaper men "burn out." Few, even among the Washington correspondents, earn anything "on the side," from contributing to publications other than their papers.

An inquiry conducted by the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia University revealed that among the men who had graduated ten years before, those who remained in newspaper work were averaging $6,016 a year; those who had gone into press-agenting or other "semi-journalistic" work, $10,019; and those who had forsaken this kind of work entirely, $16,019. Among the graduates of twelve years before, two who had remained with newspapers were averaging $4,280; two in "semi-journalistic" work were averaging $13,800; and two in other work, $30,000. Of 126 men beginners in newspaper work, the average wage was $1,365, a little better than twenty-five dollars a week. But all these graduates, it must be remembered, had spent at least four years and a con-

siderable sum of money in equipping themselves specially for journalism.

It is a saying among newspaper men that the intelligent reporter best demonstrates his intelligence by getting out of the game. Professor Roscoe C. E. Brown of the Pulitzer school says that the press must give rewards "more nearly equal to those of the advertising man and the peddler of publicity" if they are to hold competent reporters. Many newspaper publishers realize this, and they have discussed it at their gatherings. They discuss it, but they do not seem to do anything. The reporter remains for the most part an ill-paid, anonymous drudge, lured into the work by the promise of excitement and distinction, and held there, too often, because the copy desk offers a haven, and because he lacks the initiative to look elsewhere.

Jobs in many newspaper offices are of uncertain tenure, owing to the whims of owners and managing editors, and owing in these days of mergers and consolidations to the dismissal overnight of whole staffs. But the man who will buckle down to the slavery of the copy desk, and who manifests a fair competence in that post, can be pretty sure of holding on. Copy-editors are almost always in demand, because so few men are willing to do the work; and yet this is the goal ahead of most reporters, if they stick by their lasts and do not achieve the good fortune of an executive berth. Let me quote here from *The Nation,* as a lamp at the end of the reportorial pathway, Ted Olson's shrewd sonnet:

This, then, had been his destiny from birth—
To dessicate life's pageant to a phrase—
Pity and terror, hunger, madness, mirth
Congealed in "Man Shoots Five in Murder Craze."
He'd written poems once. He wrote no more.
His wits had chilled in stereotypes too long
To kindle now one glittering metaphor.
His pulse kept time to headlines, not to song.
It was a sorry business, none knew better,
And there were moments when he was more than half
Persuaded to shrug loose the ultimate fetter . . .
Save that he knew too well his epitaph,
And somehow could not stomach quite the crass
Brutality of "Scribe Ends Life with Gas."

CHAPTER V

THE "BETTER HALF" OF NEWS

How Free Publicity Crashes the Gate

NO phenomenon of our modern daily press is more astonishing than the space accorded to free publicity. More than half the "reading matter" in metropolitan newspapers, I think I may say with assurance, is of interested origin. It arises from, and on occasion is created by, agencies which have a special stake in its presentation. Yet it is presented as though it were an impartial and colorless statement of fact, on which the reader may with security base an opinion. Sometimes it is mere trivia, and does no more harm than to intrude worthless material into our field of thought. Sometimes it is important and legitimate news, which takes the form of the publicity hand-out because the press is too indolent or too niggardly to gather such news for itself. Sometimes it is propaganda of the sinister sort.

Let me be understood at once as having no prejudice against propaganda in itself. Originally applied to the activities of a College of Cardinals in charge of foreign missions, it has kept worse company since then, and better. Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Eugene Debs were propagandists, not so dissimilar, one might think, in their aims. But the propagandist, like the lobby-

ist, has been found oftener in evil surroundings: in Missouri it is libellous to call a man a lobbyist. Thus do innocent words come by bad reputations. The widespread use of our newspapers for special pleading has done nothing to establish the innocence of propaganda. Yet not even newspaper publishers appear to recognize the gravity of such a practice, among a people the most nearly literate and the most suggestible in the world.

I

All publicity gall may be divided into three parts: the part dominated by press agents—theatrical, sports, personal and so on through a long category; the part supplied by publicity directors, who serve a useful function as reportorial auxiliaries; and the part superintended by the counsel in public relations, so self-styled, who is as God made him, secretive or frank, good, bad or indifferent of consequences. Between the three classes as practitioners there is no sharp line of demarkation. The "counsel in public relations" may be a press agent. But for my present purpose I wish to use the term "publicity director" arbitrarily as meaning one who disseminates news of general interest and authentic value.

Newspaper men estimate that there are five thousand publicity agencies and persons, spreading the three kinds of stuff, in New York City alone, and that in Washington there are two thousand. Press agents, who feel the strain of competition, tell me they think the number is greater. Every sizable city and every State capital has them. Even advertising agencies, in many cases, maintain free

publicity units, one with a personnel of fifteen. No competent survey of the whole country is available, although one might expect it of newspaper publishers, who have a large advertising revenue at stake. But a canny examination of any large newspaper will give a fair example of the facts.

Stanley Walker, night city editor of the New York *Herald Tribune,* reports that of sixty-four local items in one newspaper, forty-two were rewritten or pasted up from press-agent material; this is a little more than sixty per cent. A firm of publicity agents counted the stories in the New York *Sun* of January 14, 1926, and reports that of 162 stories, only eighty-seven were not obviously obtained from publicity sources; the percentage of purity here is nearly fifty-four, but I suspect that the count does not include the "spot" news filtered through publicity channels. I counted the *New York Times* of December 29, 1926, with these results:

Stories not suggested, created or supplied by some sort of publicity agency, eighty-two; stories almost certainly of publicity origin, 147; doubtful, twenty-six. Excluding the dubious instances, the percentage of publicity stories is about sixty; but please note that in making the count I left quite aside all sport and society items and stories, to give them the benefit of a doubt they are not generally supposed to deserve; nor did I count some fifty real estate items and stories, all of which bore the earmarks of interested activity. Even on such a basis, highly prejudicial to press-agentry, it is clear that the better half of our news sifts through publicity screens.

In none of these counts is any reckoning made of illustrations, although the picture pages and the rotogravure sections are the happy hunting ground of the press agent. There is a friendly rivalry, it would seem, between Galli-Curci and "Babe" Ruth for the pictorial frequency record. My own experience as an editor in this field has taught me that the "débutantes" at California and Florida bathing resorts are too often chorus girls and models. Nearly anything in a bathing costume can get into the rotogravure sections. One of the women's magazines has advertised, "Ladies' legs are no longer news"; this may be true; I think it is; but the picture editors have not found it out. Let us dismiss the illustrations from our discussion, and look at the three classes I have enumerated in their attack upon the news columns.

II

Mlle. Cecile Sorel, the Comtesse de Sigur, on the eve of another tour of this country, passes the word to her press agent. Straightway we learn (and the intelligence is transmitted breathlessly by cable) that in the Paris home of the actress is a Greek sarcophagus of creamy marble, where she bathes in perfumed waters; next, that she will bring with her a four-poster bed which once belonged, so she says, to Madame du Barry, and a robe of a thousand ermines. As the ship sails we are informed that she is bringing with her thus and so, through an entire wardrobe. Hardly has she arrived and given to the Hearst papers an interview on du Barry as a go-getter, when another press agent informs us ("Copyright, 1926, by

the New York Times Company") that Yvonne Printemps, "popular Parisian actress," is about to bring to our shores "seventy of the most beautiful gowns ever made." Thus sartorial competition is employed to whet our appetite for the histrionic.

Light-minded smears of press-agentry such as this are in direct descent from the Eulenspiegel parent of all modern publicity. The circus and the theatre as radiant centres spread the knowledge that a free piece in the paper was a good thing to have. It was free and easy. The familiar fake about the actress's stolen jewelry, and the ballyhoo of Bosco and the Bearded Lady, are ancestors of a motley tribe: tricky commercial, staid educational, religious, industrial, institutional, governmental and corporation publicity. Ivy Lee and Edward L. Bernays are collateral heirs of Tody Hamilton, impresario of the three-ring circus. But Tody, as an ancestor, has more than this to answer for.

III

When a Queen visits us, the publicity is complicated by the swarm of press agents who feed on the event. The direct publicity arranged for Marie of Rumania in 1926 was comparatively simple. Before she left Bucharest she signed contracts with two newspaper syndicates—and they got subsequently into a public row about it—for the use of what she wrote and said, or for the use of her name over what they might write in her behalf. She was accompanied by a "spokesman." She came with a professional dancer (a personal friend), and the dancer's

press agent accompanied the party. On the ship were press agents representing the *Leviathan* and the shipping line. Thus the American public was gratified to know that the Queen ate "a typical American breakfast" of griddle cakes and syrup aboard, and was informed whenever she took a dip into the ship pool. On her arrival she could see in our shop windows—most grateful to any woman!—exact copies of the clothes she wore. French couturiers, milliners and shopkeepers gave to the press, presumably through press agents, details about her wardrobe. *Women's Wear,* a daily fashion paper in New York, printed radio photographs of her gowns long before its sluggish competitors of general circulation, such as the *Herald Tribune,* got the coveted models; and New York manufacturers, owning a string of fifty-odd shops, copied and distributed the gowns with great speed.

It is impossible to estimate how many acres of white paper the American press covered with trivial details of the Queen's trip, sent out by reporters who dealt, as a fact, with the "spokesman" or in some other way gathered their facts at second-hand. There were reporters aboard the train for four news agencies and one newspaper; and one of the reporters has said that the "spokesman's" habit of denial became so strong that he repudiated stories before they were received or conceived.

Meanwhile all over this country other press agents were coupling figurative trailers to the special train. One of them, for instance, went to New Orleans to look after the civic opera, and inquired whether the Queen had been invited. No: that hadn't been thought of. He thereupon

DENVER WELCOMES QUEEN MARIE

ROYAL GUESTS GIVEN GREAT OVATION BY CITY THRONGS

Auditorium Is Filled At Reception for Sovereign

VISITORS DELIGHTED

By LAWRENCE MARTIN:

DENVER opens its arms to the Queen of Rumania. Denver Posted Hosts of Memorial Wednesday!

There was never a more welcoming city than Denver as the Queen of Rumania and her party were driven from the Union station to the Brown Palace hotel in the motor cavalcade that escorted the royal guests through the streets.

Colorado residents awoke to the event. The trails of leaving cars in which she, her daughter, Princess Ileana, her son, Prince Nicholas, and the others of their entourage retired are traveling are headed into Platte valley at a clock Wednesday morning from Denver, Colo., where it had for a rising some a clock after the run from Cooper Wyo.

Denver's welcome to the Queen of Rumania was the greatest ever accorded a visitor. At least two thirds [illegible] the city's population lined the streets through which the royal party passed. Not for any one city, so far as the writer can recall, has there been such a demonstration of welcome. Every one who could get out to see the Queen was there. Every one who could get out to see the Queen was there. Every one who could get out to see the Queen was there

telegraphed cordially, and received polite regrets. The Queen's itinerary had been altered—which had not been made public as yet—and she could not attend. Neither the New Orleans nor other Southern papers had realized that the projected visit to the South had been abandoned; and so the civic opera made Page One through a wide area. Things of that sort were happening all around; that is, press agents were hitching their wagons to the Queen's star.

We may as well consider one more example of this type of press-agentry. When Rudolph Valentino died his body was committed to an undertaker who knew the uses of free publicity. Even before the star's death public excitement had run high, and the tabloid picture papers had fallen to faking, in order to get every possible edge of circulation on the event. Mass emotion had been stoked to fever heat. Harry C. Klemfuss, who has offices in a Manhattan hotel, and who is one of the most skillful of his guild, had attended for ten years to the commission of popularizing this undertaker's business. He assisted the press, therefore, by advance distribution of photographs and material regarding the chamber where the screen star's body would lie, even the embalmer who would beautify the corpse. I need not go further into these details than to say that a posed picture of the funeral cortège was on the streets in one newspaper before the funeral cortège started. Around the undertaker's place of business were rioting mobs; a plate glass window was smashed, and scores were injured. The crowd stretched through eleven blocks of streets.

Klemfuss, however, does not merit and does not claim full responsibility for this ugly orgy of sentimentalism. To him, as a fact, it was a minor triumph. The name of his client appeared four days successively on the first page of one newspaper, not a tabloid, in "fourteen-point type"; and when he had noted a million lines of free publicity he quit counting. But he is first to say this could not have been done if the newspapers had not given eager support. They did this, not as a favor to him but because they themselves expected to profit from it. The substantial and dignified press outdid its tabloid picture-paper competitors in the space accorded to the occasion. Let me quote a pertinent paragraph about the obsequies from one of our most eminent journals:

Mary Pickford was sobbing bitterly as she followed the coffin from the actors' chapel. She wore a small black straw hat, with a black band and black bow behind, black georgette over black with a white lace collar and white lace cuffs; also a short string of pearls with a large single diamond clasp. She also wore nude stockings, black patent leather slippers and carried a black handbag with gold mountings and chain.

Breathes there a reporter with eye so all-seeing and accurate as this? Nay; the meticulous description of Miss Pickford's costume was supplied by still another press agent, tuning in on the Valentino funeral dirge, and as eager as the press to pick the pennies from the eyes of the dead.

IV

Sports occupy so large a part of the space set aside for the newspaper reader that I must refer to them frequently. They are a favorite field of the press agent. Tex Rickard may thank free publicity for much of the money that has come his way, and is free to own that he prefers the puffery of sport writers to any amount of paid advertising. He spent never a penny for advertising space until just before the Dempsey-Sharkey fight in July, 1927, to which I shall refer presently. The favorite newspaper phrase in description of this promoter is "the master mind."

In the first chapter an allusion was made to corrupt influence in the sport pages. During November, 1926, a series of professional hockey matches was put on at Madison Square Garden. A short time before the first match the Publishers Association of New York City sent out the following letter:

In accordance with the vote of the Publishers Association, I am sending to you the following information regarding the conditions surrounding the publicity plans for the hockey season.

At Madison Square Garden there will be two hockey teams, one controlled by Tex Rickard and the other controlled by Colonel J. S. Hammond. The publicity has been placed in the hands of Bruno and Blythe, 220 West Forty-second street, and they have been told that the sum of $12,000, six thousand for each team, has been set aside for publicity purposes. Instructions have been given, however, that this money is not to be expended for advertising, but is to be expended if necessary among

newspaper men who are supposed to be in a position to either influence or direct the publication of reading notices.

There are in the archives at Madison Square Garden a list of men on the newspapers who are alleged to be receptive to financial rewards for the services intimated above. All the newspapers are represented on this list, although there are names on this list of men who are absolutely beyond approach with this sort of a proposal. The only conclusion to be drawn is that money alleged to be paid to these newspaper men finds a resting place in some intermediary pocket, but this in no way lessens the undesirability of the reputation which is being visited upon those honest newspaper men whose names are on this list.

It was the recommendation of the Publishers Association that this information be sent to every managing editor in the city, with the suggestion that proper action be taken.

Editor and Publisher, by request, printed this letter and accompanied it with a stinging editorial. The *Daily News* printed the letter of its own accord, and Philip Payne, managing editor of the *Daily Mirror,* demanded publicly, but without avail, that a grand jury investigation be undertaken. The other newspapers were silent. The promoters and the publicity men vigorously denied that they had been guilty of any wrong doing or wrong intention.

It is the custom of newspapers to remain silent when possible about charges against themselves or their employés. It is worth noting that in the matter of sporting page venality the tabloid picture papers alone have been outspoken. I have told about two of them. On June 27, 1927, the subject reappeared when the *Evening Graphic* printed a photostat of a $200 check, with the name of the

signer blocked out, and beneath it an editorial in part as follows:

The check reproduced above was received by James Jennings, boxing writer of the *Graphic,* from a man who, for the time being, will have to be identified as a famous athlete. Mr. Jennings . . . turned the check over to the editor of this newspaper to be returned to the sender.

It has been the practice in sporting circles to buy space in newspapers by such methods. It has been openly rumored that certain sporting promoters maintained some newspaper sporting writers on their payroll.

When Rickard finally loosened his purse strings for the despised advertising columns, he spent $15,000 with twenty-one newspapers in Greater New York. He gave to newspaper employés tickets which it would cost at least ten thousand dollars to buy and he has asserted, according to *Editor and Publisher,* that he spends sixty-five thousand a year "entertaining" sport writers. On the day his advertisements of the Dempsey-Sharkey fight appeared there also appeared, in those newspapers which bought Will Rogers' daily squibs, a message in which the comedian said:

The winner will be the one that will draw the most money with Tunney. Tex Rickard can sell you tickets for that fight now with the names of the fighters on it.

Dempsey, as the former champion and a favorite with the boxing public (although the odds were heavily in favor of Sharkey) seemed "the one that will draw the most money with Tunney." Fulfilling the forecast, he

won. Whether he won as a result of foul blows was disputed. If mere number of reporters counted, the fight should have been competently covered: the *Herald Tribune* alone was represented by eight men and one woman. But there was no agreement about blows below the belt; the referee's decision stood, and Rickard set about arranging a bout with Tunney, amid predictions of a two-million-dollar "gate."

Ten years ago there was no concealment in New York City of the practice to which the *Graphic* alluded. It was regarded as "honest graft," certainly as honest as the present practice of rotogravure editors in accepting bundles of theatre tickets for printing "free" pictures of stage folk. In recent years there has been some concealment, although the custom of many sporting writers of accepting "commissions" to build out their inadequate pay checks is an open secret.

No metropolitan newspaper owner need pretend to such naïveté as to deny knowledge of this state of affairs. What the newspaper owners do, when they underpay their sport writers, is to encourage venality. In such circumstances they could not be expected to print the letter from the publishers' association, or to seek an adequate investigation. The tabloid picture papers should have credit for paying their sport writers honest salaries, and for attempting at every turn to expose the corruption behind the sport ballyhoo. The Scripps-Howard papers have increased the pay of their sport staffs, and have forbidden them to accept outside commissions. Until the owners of other newspapers are equally honest, dis-

honesty is likely to continue, perforce, among their employés.

Reporters of general news also are underpaid, but receive as a rule from metropolitan papers adequate living wages. Their integrity, in spite of leading an exposed and tempted life, is a matter of common knowledge. Yet their reputations suffer, along with the reputations of those sport writers who refuse gifts of haberdashery, automobiles, rental and money. The newspapers which give, of the space reserved for "reading matter," one-fourth or thereabout to the promotion of such dubious commercial enterprises as professional baseball and prize-fighting, as well as promoting gambling on horse-racing, are hard put to it to explain their policy, without having charged against them in addition a refusal to clean up the nastiest spot in daily journalism.

V

The earliest recognition of commercial press-agentry I have been able to find took the guise of a booklet issued in 1893 by C. H. Taylor, Jr., to the staff of the Boston *Globe*. On the back of it in gilt letters is a phrase from the context: "Any item is a puff which is of more interest to the firm or person mentioned than to the general public." Written a generation ago, this fits a large part of the publicity with which we are regaled nowadays under the masquerade of the news columns. Time cannot dim nor custom stale such artifices. There is this difference, however, that the press agent of those days worked under cover more often than does his fellow of the pres-

ent. The little black book warned the *Globe* staff against the devious practices of the guild. "If such notices are printed," it said, "the money should be paid in at the counting room."

Since 1908 the American Newspaper Publishers Association has been issuing confidential bulletins about the press agent's activities. Just before the World War it compiled a list of 1,400 active rhetoricians, but if any good was accomplished thereby it was of brief duration. Publicity had begun to flourish as a result of muckraking, which brought many Big Business men into a new attitude toward public opinion, and the importance of molding it; the war did the rest.

What with World War sales of Liberty Bonds; campaigns for the Red Cross, Salvation Army and the Y. M. C. A.; organized ballyhoos for military divisions at home and at the front, for every arm of the service; censored statements from every department, bureau and minor unit of the Government, and a saturnalia of free advertising for industries working under the "cost plus" plan, all newspaper barriers broke down. The editor was put on his honor not to print anything without official sanction—that is, to print nothing without approval which bore even remotely on the war situation—and in the national emergency he lived faithfully up to his agreement.

Newspaper men learned thus to accept uncomplainingly any hand-out (formerly this word was applied to the back-door largess for hoboes) which came from a Governmental source. After the war was over, the swarm of press agents multiplied, and the habit of accepting hand-

outs with docility crystallized. The editorial policy seems to be to print anything which is amusing and interesting, however slight its news value. More and more of the stuff appearing in the news columns has come to be stuff prepared outside newspaper circles, and accepted at second-hand. How seldom any first-hand investigation is made may be illustrated by a happening in New York City.

A story was put out that tenement-dwellers on the lower East Side had been swindled of half a million dollars by men who took advantage of a millionaire's plan to raze the tenements and substitute sanitary dwellings. The papers which I saw, with a single exception, displayed it conspicuously. The *World* alone was silent. It had sought corroborative details, and found the thing was a fake. Subsequently the other papers had to print corrections. But about the same time the *World* printed a story which began:

> Science, which has lightened human tasks and increased comforts, came to the aid of Santa Claus this year and with the coöperation of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Radio Corporation of America people on opposite sides of the country and world were enabled to exchange a novel form of Christmas greetings.

Even a Managing Editor, preoccupied with larger matters, might be expected to spy the logographer of Big Business between the lines of that paragraph! Not press-agenting, but faking, had caused suppression of the swindle story.

VI

When René Fonck, French war ace, and some American associates, were planning a New York-to-Paris flight, a publicity man sent out a form letter offering to put commodities aboard for use of the aviators. "The trade name of the article," said the letter, "will be made known through the general press, dispatches, photographs, etc., and over the radio. No additional cost for this publicity other than an initial contribution to the general flight fund is required." This was the same publicity man who exploited the flight of Commander Richard E. Byrd to the North Pole. High adventure still has its thrill for the land-ridden, and the aviator's press agent knows it. At a world advertising convention in London A. W. Neally announced that the international air races would be advertised on billboards and with novelties, and that these would be supplemented by more than $1,000,000 worth of newspaper space, to be obtained free.

George D. Hirst, a commercial publicity man, has asserted that he got $365,000 worth of free publicity for kid leather, at a cost of only $35,000 for his services. Manufacturers of oil heaters got $30,000 worth of free space in two weeks. This was free publicity in the sense that the newspapers got nothing for it. The newspapers, for example, get little financial advertising, although they spend huge sums to gather and print financial news. In 1926, out of three-quarters of a billion dollars in advertising revenue, only forty-five millions came from this source. Wall Street is alive with press agents; a dealer

in securities said not long ago that he had cut down his advertising appropriation because "we have discovered that the most economical and profitable method is to use the news columns of the daily papers."

The publisher and editor of the small paper finds, as one of them said not long since, that free publicity mats, "many of them most readable and attractive with a subtle concealment of the advertising matter, are often most tempting. On dull days when fillers are needed, and features are not at hand, there is a strong temptation to stick in one of these free ads." He was talking of a certain commercial publicity. Not only the large city papers, therefore, are afflicted by what this man calls "space gougers," but the small ones as well, and both succumb.

Are editors too gullible to be trusted in such matters? Edwin S. Friendly, business manager of the New York *Sun,* has said to the League of Advertising Women:

> We have usually left the press agent to the editorial department, which is all right ordinarily for such as the theatrical press agent or the one who is working for some public or charitable institution. Precedent and coöperation with worthy causes give such publicity men a place in the scheme of things. . . . We in the publishing and advertising end are concerned with another type, and on our guard against him, and do all in our power to make fruitless his attempts to use our space without paying for it. . . . He is the one, for example, who limits his advertising to the magazines and then floods newspaper offices with the same copy twisted around into a semi-news form, hoping that it will slip past the editors in the large cities and that those in the smaller cities will welcome it as needed filler.

VII

Even prosperous metropolitan newspapers still print free reading notices in connection with certain kinds of advertising, such as finance, realty and automobiles. The president of one of the big automobile concerns announced recently that he regarded this practice as pernicious, and got a lot of free publicity thereby. He sent a circular letter to newspaper publishers asking what they thought of his stand, and was flooded with replies. I wish space permitted me to quote them fully, but I can set down here only a few fragments:

We agree that gossip of the automobile trade is no more entitled to free space than gossip of the department stores. . . .

It is practically impossible to give "free publicity" fairly. The greedy who demand it as their right too often get the bulk of it while others less insistent get little or none.

We could raise our rates ten cents an inch and give a great deal of reading matter with the ads.

We have a rule to run a reader with each thirty-inch ad, if requested.

We have been giving a fixed percentage of free publicity in our automobile section and have been doing it without increasing our automobile display rate.

Now we know the source of the automobile editor's Pierian spring. His knowledge of timing devices, upholstering and body lines does not prove to be marvellous after all. And so we can deduce that the apparent versatility of the reporter, writing learnedly one moment about cathode rays and the next with scientific precision about cancer, is a "canned" versatility, aided and abetted by the press agent.

Let me run briefly through a list of publicity successes, which need not be described in detail:

Window glass which admits the violet rays of sunlight.

Laundries. (Which appropriated $1,000,000 for paid advertising in magazines during 1927.)

Vitamines. (This was on behalf of a yeast manufacturer.)

The Junior Skippers' League, which held a regatta in Central Park with 20,000 spectators, so the papers said. (This was for the benefit of a manufacturer of toy rubber boats.)

The propaganda against self-rising flour. (This has been denounced by the Federal Trade Commission as the work of a baking powder manufacturer.)

The broadsides about Marion Talley and Lucretia Goddard (Bush), opera singers.

The campaign against bobbed hair. (This was for a hairnet manufacturer.)

The attack on agricultural pests by airplane. (A proprietary poison was utilized.)

The "Love Secrets of Cleopatra."

The hoax of a floating bootlegger's palace off New York. (One of many motion picture fakes: Will Hays has promised they shall stop.)

A series of syndicated articles on the care of the teeth. (Paid for by dental associations too ethical to advertise.)

Recipes from the "Better Health Bureau" and articles on the "modern drug store." (These were put out by different agencies.)

Notes on the renaissance of jewelry for personal adornment.

The widespread advice to eat hearty breakfasts. (This was on behalf of a distributor of bacon.)

This list might be extended to weariness in relation to lumber, linen, Miami, copper and brass, carbonated beverages, Beverly Hills, branch banking, poison gas, the tariff, terra cotta, the Pennsylvania, Burlington and other railroads, success personality sketches (a magazine of national circulation is as easy a mark for the press agent in this field as the newspapers), silk and near-silk, knitting (for a yarn manufacturer), beauty contests, check protectors, Coral Gables, cranberries, beet sugar, prohibition and anti-prohibition, bread, cosmetics and bricks. And not one would be a random shot. Each item represents actual press-agency, and for most of them I can cite the name of the press agent. My inquiries have brought me to a point where I look with a credulous eye only on accounts of murder, suicide, forgery and fire. These are not publicity stunts, when genuine.

After President Coolidge had given to an advertising man an interview which was distributed only to papers getting the Associated Press report, he told protesting Washington correspondents that the stuff was not news. If not news, it must have been press-agentry. The correspondents were miffed because they had had no chance at the interview, and indeed are forbidden to quote the President; and their wrath was not assuaged by the fact that the Associated Press had carried before the interview, as I have told in the chapter on Washington, a piece of State

Department propaganda which other news agencies had declined to print, or to distribute.

VIII

Terry Ramsaye, author of "A Million and One Nights: The History of the Motion Picture," tells me of a reporter who misquoted him "in every single statement of historical fact," although working from the proof sheets of his book, and adds:

In every instance where I have had close technical or personal knowledge of a story, it has been mishandled by the press, the authorities misquoted and the most erroneous general result attained. The existence of the press agent is not alone a matter of coloring the news for the benefit of the interests involved; it is necessary to have the copy written by some one who knows the subject to get any semblance of actual facts across if the subject is in any wise technical. Scientific men shudder at interviews because of what is done to them in type.

Thanks to the publicity director (and here I approach with some relief a legitimate, a necessary, perhaps even an indispensable member of the craft), the scientist has been brought in fact to a common meeting ground with the public in the daily press. For example: there was published in newspapers throughout the country an interesting and accurate report of a lecture on ultra-violet rays by Dr. Donald G. Stockberger of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This material was prepared by the director of news service (or, as I have arbitrarily classified him, publicity director) for the Institute. He knows news; he has made a close study of the engineering and

scientific news originating in the Institute. Thus he is enabled to give to the press material the general public wants to know about, and to prepare it in such fashion that reporters need not make the kind of blunders Ramsaye complains of. He writes me:

"Within recent years, as you no doubt have noted, public interest in scientific and engineering achievements has increased tremendously and much news space is devoted to this field. I am much interested in the fact that in almost every case of a news man coming here for a story he requests the engineer or scientist concerned to check his article for accuracy of technical detail. This we do not ask, but it is a fine thing to have, and I know of no instance here when such coöperation has in any way spoiled either a straight news story or a feature. . . . As an old newspaper man I can remember that not so many years ago reporters feared in many instances that to check up with the person involved meant killing the heart of the story. That certainly is not true here."

Nor is it true anywhere if a competent publicity director acts as intermediary between the press and the scientist. The reporter no longer shudders at the scientist's blue pencil any more than the scientist shudders at the thought of publicity. Television, osiso, transatlantic radio telephony, and the cathode tube were introduced to the public by the publicity director. He acts not only for universities, but for charitable and political campaigns, libraries, churches, and thousands of governmental agencies. Even Windsor Castle has its press bureau.

Through the publicity director, "spot" news is dis-

seminated. News about the League of Nations, for instance, has been put out in fifty-six languages by a large bureau, headed by Arthur Bullard, a writer of distinction. He does a good job, and probably we would get little news of a trustworthy character about the League if he weren't there. There are forty-eight American States, hundreds of cities, civic and commercial chambers, fraternal societies, publishers and organizations which reach the press through publicity directors. For the press to cover each of these activities independently would involve enormous expense, and there is no assurance that the work would be any better done.

IX

The counsel in (or on) public relations differs from the commercial and personal press agent, and from the publicity director, in more than name. Among the leaders of the craft in this country are Messrs. Lee and Bernays. Both of them make a point of the fact that material they send to newspapers is labelled as coming from them, but Lee, nevertheless, affirms that *Information,* his clip-sheet, is sent out *"with no other purpose* than to be of interest to the people to whom it is sent." This establishes his agency as something more than a mere bureau of propaganda: it is a great altruistic and vaudeville enterprise, rolled into one. The Lee clip-sheet, however, contains chiefly propaganda for the agency's clients. At the upper left-hand corner there is quoted this passage from one of Lincoln's joint debates with Stephen A. Douglas:

Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed.

Thus are the Emancipator's words made to serve the arts of a disingenuous propagandist. Lee was summoned as a witness before the New York State Transit Commission, to tell what he had done for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, one of his minor clients. His pay was twelve thousand dollars a year plus expenses; and from June 30, 1919, to that date of 1927, he had collected more than $200,000. All of this money, it transpired, was paid by the taxpayers, because it was charged against the city as "operating expenses"; and Lee admitted that, although a referendum had shown an overwhelming public sentiment against an increase in fare, he had campaigned with the public's money for an increase. He had also assisted the corporation in developing its "company union" (although he objected to that term) and had provided it with publicity through the newspapers and otherwise.

Lee's questionable publicity in behalf of the Rockefellers during the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company strike was made the subject of a Congressional investigation, and the material has often been rehashed in the monthly magazines. His "personal" opinion about recognition of the Soviet Republic, at a time when his employers were angling for oil concessions in Russia, also

had free vent in the newspapers. He is called "king of the press agents."

There is this to be said for Bernays, that he is above-board. Of the counsel in public relations he says frankly: "Essentially he is a special pleader before the court of public opinion." He has suggested (and is by no means the first to suggest it) that the Federal Government create a Cabinet post for a publicity man. If that were done, Bernays says, Europe would not think ill of our policies, and our adventures in Nicaragua, China, Central America and Mexico would not be understood as imperialist. This is the day, he asserts, when the minority must, through organized propaganda, guide the majority to its way of thinking. In his house organ, *Contact,* he writes: "Propaganda has assumed vast importance in its effect on the lives of peoples, and with the growing democratization of the world, there will be more and more organized appeals made to the people directly on behalf of national and international interests, on behalf of every kind of idea or product which any one group desires other groups to accept." And Lee echoes: "In the person of the modern publicity man we have some one who is marshalling the evidence for his side, in accordance with accepted forms, and the newspaper must adjust itself to that."

What the "accepted forms" are I do not know; but it is evident that our commercialized press has adjusted itself to them. The counsel in public relations stands often at the sources of the news, sometimes he colors or taints the stream, and sometimes he attempts to dam it. He is not a reporter of news, but by his own admission, a

manipulator, with a primary interest, therefore, not in truth but in what his client pays him to make the public believe is so, whether it be so or not.

A ton of gunpowder, for instance, exploded in the plant of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours across from Wilmington, and five persons were killed. "Officials of the company," says a newspaper account, "refused to make any statement, and no one was permitted to inspect the scene of the damage. Inquirers were referred to a publicity agent in the company's offices in Wilmington, where it was said that the damage amounted to only $25,000." The du Ponts own the controlling interest (or did when last I made inquiries) in every daily paper in Wilmington, and thus are able to censor news concerning the corporation at its point of origin. The suppressive power of their bureau has been demonstrated more than once. Many other corporations give out frankly the facts of disasters: it is much easier nowadays, as an example, to get details of railroad wrecks than it was before the day of the counsel in public relations.

During the progress of the Fall-Doheny trial in Washington George G. Hill, a former newspaper man, gave the press multigraphed versions of the day's proceedings from the defence point of view. This is a common procedure in trials of cases where Big Business is involved. I will quote but one paragraph (strongly editorial in tone) of Hill's publicity stuff:

As read from his testimony before the Senate committee, Mr. Doheny's statement that he hoped to make a profit of $100,000,000 from his California leases as-

sumed a new light. Mr. Doheny testified that, assuming as correct the estimate of the Geological Survey as to the amount of oil which could be recovered from Naval Reserve No. 1, it would require an investment of $150,000,000 by his company for drilling, pipe-lines, refining, etc.; that he estimated the contract would endure thirty or forty or fifty years; so that his estimate of profit was, assuming that not more than $100,000,000 was invested at any one time, only two per cent a year on the investment.

If you happened to see that in your newspaper, you know now where it came from. It did not come from a reporter obligated only to his paper, its readers and his own conscience, but from a man obligated to a multi-millionaire oil operator.

It must not be supposed, from these instances, that the Rockefellers and other large investors in mining and oil properties, are wholly to blame for the employment of "counsellors in public relations." George M. Cook, who represents the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, has cited a case which illustrates one of the reasons for his work. The Department of Justice filed a suit against his company and fifty others, and when the time came for the companies to file their answers Cook prepared a 1,200-word résumé, free of legal phraseology, and sent it to the newspapers.

As a result [he says] all the Press Associations printed good stories, setting forth our position. According to the clippings received, I believe every newspaper in the United States that received any kind of telegraph service had something about our answer. All the other oil companies filed their answers, some before we did, others after . . . but so far as I know not a line was printed in any daily newspaper in the country about theirs. The only reason

for this, I imagine, was that the other companies did not take the trouble of sending their answers to the papers. . . . A legal document of that character contains much that is not interesting to the average reporter. . . . Another thing, a man not familiar with the situation might overlook important points, so that in this case I was in a position to be of service to the newspapers and press associations.

It appears, from this statement, that the press made no investigation on its own account of the replies by the oil companies to the Government's conspiracy charge, but accepted, and widely distributed, a statement prepared for them. Cook makes the point, rightfully I think, that if his statement had been inaccurate it would have been challenged; but we may bear in mind, nevertheless, the statement which I have quoted from his fellow-minnesinger of oil, that the publicity man "is marshalling the evidence for his side." The evidence for the Standard of Indiana would have got no showing had the publicity man not been on the job. When the press ignores news of such importance as this, the counsel in public relations finds a ready-made justification for his work.

X

In the face of such an array of facts, the complaint of advertising men that the press bars from its news columns any mention of brands made widely known through advertisements, even when the brand is a legitimate detail of a story, seems querulous and puerile. The financial grievance lies with the newspaper publisher. How much he loses in revenue he does not know. He has never taken

the pains to calculate it. He has not even made a survey of the extent of the evil, nor of the character and purposes of the men engaged in it. The real sufferers from his negligence are newspaper readers. A professor in a School of Journalism has suggested that newspaper men be licensed and registered by the State; how much more sensible to license and register publicity men of all classes!

Yet the newspaper publisher has himself only to blame. The ranks of publicity men are recruited from newspaper staffs. Reporters and copy-editors go into a game they have been taught to despise because they do not get a fair wage from the press, while they can earn good money as "space-grabbers." Nor could the fraternity of raiders flourish on free space if the newspapers were willing to spend the money to cover news fields as they should. Their own niggardliness in underpaying their unorganized workers, and in evading expenses legitimately theirs, while availing themselves unblushingly of hand-outs prepared by men with an axe to grind, makes possible the abuse of their columns. The publication of trivial but amusing stuff encourages an irresponsible section of the guild. And meantime the press is steadily losing the confidence and respect of a public already grown wise to the trickery of a certain class of publicity men. Making no allowance for legitimate directors of publicity, who are indispensable aids to the daily press as things now stand, the newspaper reader tars and feathers the whole of daily journalism as an accessory before the fact to vapid pictures and fulsome "news," as well as an accessory to propaganda of distinctly disquieting character.

CHAPTER VI

CHANGING NEWSPAPER MORALITY

Pulitzer, Hearst, Ochs, and Their Influences

BY a coincidence, William Randolph Hearst and Adolph S. Ochs entered the New York newspaper field within a year of each other. Each had made his mark on the daily journalism of another city; each was to exert a widespread influence on the press of the whole country, in different directions. Yet it cannot be said that their ambitions when they approached New York City were widely dissimilar. They differed chiefly in this, that while Hearst had a high notion of newspaper entertainment as an asset, Ochs had a high notion of the commercial value of news itself. It has been said that Hearst was not quite decided whether to get out the best or the worst paper in the metropolis; his associates, and his warfare with the elder Joseph Pulitzer, seem to have determined this. When Ochs bought the *New York Times* the paper was chiefly famous for having smashed the corrupt Tweed ring in Tammany; it has smashed no corruption since he assumed ownership.

I

To perceive clearly the forces which bore upon Hearst, it is necessary to glance back over the career in New York of his chief competitor. Joseph Pulitzer, after making

an immensely profitable property of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* had concluded that he would never again be welcome in that city because, in the heat of a political campaign, his editor had shot to death a lawyer who called on him to resent editorial slurs upon a member of his firm. The *Post-Dispatch* lost heavily in circulation and was roundly denounced; and a year later Pulitzer, to whom the New York prospect had long beckoned, bought the *World* from Jay Gould for $346,000. Gould, who had acquired the property in a trade, was about to quit the stock market, where his course had been marked by artificial panics and was strewn with the wreckage of railroads, and he had no further use for the paper. The first installment was met from profits of the *Post-Dispatch;* and from that time the *World* prospered under the management of its new owner. He set out to publish a paper "made for the million, the masses." His standard and model was the younger Bennett's *Herald,* although it had been outstripped in circulation by the *Sun,* now a two-cent, four-page paper, with a witty and cynical editorial staff. The *Times* and *Tribune* sold at four cents each, and were eight-page sheets on week-days. The *Herald* was five cents, and gave ten or twelve pages; it still had a high reputation for aggressiveness and energy in getting news; but the younger Bennett, a toady and a vulgar climber, forbade publication of those intimate details about social leaders which had flavored the paper in his father's day. These papers were the main defenders against newcomers.

Mr. Pulitzer closed the deal for the *World* May 9, 1883,

and straightway made his presence felt. He instructed his subordinates never to be content with a mere record of the news, and attracted wide attention by his crusades, many of which were fruitful. He demanded that Brooklyn Bridge be made toll-free, and it was done. He campaigned for taxes on luxuries, on inheritances, on large incomes, on monopolies; for reform of the civil service and for punishment of corrupt public officers. He was credited with having a large part in the nomination and election of Grover Cleveland, first to the Governorship of New York and then to the Presidency; but in the winter of 1895-96, during Cleveland's second Administration, the *World* prevented John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, from selling $100,000,000 in Government bonds to J. P. Morgan and Company at 104½. Earlier in 1895 a large issue had been sold to the Wall Street firm at that figure, and had soon risen to 120 on the market, to the great profit of the banking house. With characteristic initiative the *World* demanded that the issue be sold to the public, and Pulitzer offered to take a million dollars at the peak price. His broker got that amount at 114, and Pulitzer was taken aback to find that he had made $50,000 on the deal; but the fight, which was single-handed, was a noteworthy instance of a newspaper's power, constructively used, to break up alliances between Wall Street and Washington.

The *World* was even less tender in its treatment of the Cleveland Administration at the time of the Venezuelan crisis, when the jingo press of this country was applauding the President's belligerent note to Great Britain.

Almost alone, Pulitzer stemmed the tide toward conflict by the expert use of his paper's columns, both news and editorial. In June of 1896, during a visit to England, he was memorialized by deputations from the leading peace and arbitration societies of that country, who congratulated him on averting war over the Venezuelan boundary. His son, Ralph Pulitzer, read his address, in which he said that "true Americanism means arbitration."

Yet he "veered about radically in the quarrel between the United States and Spain." He would not listen to Spain's plea for arbitration. His official biographer says that Pulitzer "once confessed that he rather liked the idea of a war—not a big war—but one which would arouse interest and give him a chance to gauge the reflex in his circulation figures." What had transformed this international force for peace into an international force for mass murder? The answer is to be found in the advent of Hearst.

II

While Pulitzer was in England, Lochinvar Hearst, whose prankish San Francisco *Examiner,* although chiefly devised for entertainment, had not hesitated to assail the political cronies of United States Senator George Hearst, its owner's father, rented offices in the Pulitzer Building on Park Row. He panelled them with California redwood and set about dickering secretly for the *Journal,* then a morning paper, founded by Albert Pulitzer, a brother of Joseph. The *Journal* had been sold later for

a million dollars to John R. McLean, owner of the sensational Cincinnati *Enquirer,* but had not fared well, and Hearst bought it September 25, 1895. The change of ownership, however, was not announced until November 6 of that year, after the election. In the meantime, the young Westerner had been raiding other newspaper offices, chiefly Pulitzer's. At one fell swoop he took away Morrill Goddard and the whole Sunday magazine staff; subsequently he took Bradford Merrill, an editorial writer, and S. S. Carvalho, regarded in those days as a circulation and credit wizard. Arthur Brisbane, who had received his training largely in the Pulitzer shops, was a later acquisition.

Returning, Pulitzer gave battle to the intruder with his best blows. He got back some of his men, one of them T. E. Powers, cartoonist, whom Hearst promptly lured away again. The struggle for this employé finally got into the courts, and was long-drawn. The cartoonist was under contract to both publishers, and is reputed to have drawn salaries from each of them during the litigation, doing no work for either. When finally the courts decided that Pulitzer's claim on the artist was no longer valid, the result was celebrated by an "Uncle Tom's Cabin" performance on Broadway; that is, the cartoonist and another man, the latter armed with a roll of drawing paper, started together down the street; at intervals the cartoonist would drop to his hands and knees, and, while his companion belabored him, would cry aloud: "You can beat my ole black body, but my soul belongs to William Randolph Hearst."

Amid such capers the war between the two publishers went ahead in deadly earnest. A truce was patched up between them as to raiding each other's offices, but not as to competition for sales. Their reporters travelled in squads, and both papers struggled deeper and deeper into a morass of sensationalism. The Spanish-American War afforded a shining opportunity for their peculiar talents. If Pulitzer hoped for war, let it not be supposed that Hearst was trying for arbitration. Before the *Maine* was sunk he sent Frederic Remington to Cuba; but the artist, finding nothing there in the way of subjects for pictures, cabled: "W. R. Hearst. Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. I wish to return. Remington."

To which the artist received this reply: "Remington, Havana. Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war. W. R. Hearst."

From all accounts these two newspapers were chiefly responsible, by their junker campaign, for plunging the United States into a bullying warfare and a policy of imperialism. Pulitzer's desire to test the effect on circulation was gratified. Both the *World* and *Journal* claimed more than a million daily sales. Neither morning paper has ever claimed such a figure since. No American daily has ever reached it excepting a tabloid, certainly no yellower than either of these during the heyday of their conflict. Headlines and picture layouts and red ink ran riot. Hearst received, as souvenirs of his contribution to the cause of our victory over a weak nation, and our domination over an alien people on the other side of the

earth, the gilded arms of Spain, torn from the front of the palace in Santiago de Cuba, and the headquarters flag of the Eastern Army, presented to him on the field by General Garcia.

Don C. Seitz, in his biography of Pulitzer, intimates that the duel between the *World* and *Journal* cost Hearst in the neighborhood of eight million dollars. There is another story that the Californian entered the New York field with only about one million available, and that his associates plunged him so into debt as to take control of his paper virtually away from him for several years. His mother, when appeals were made to her for funds, was so disgusted with the sensationalism of the *Journal* that she brought herself with difficulty to help keep it alive. If this story be accurate it may explain a saying attributed to Hearst, that his early ambition was not to print such a paper as the *Journal* became, but such a paper as the *Times* had been before Ochs gained control of it.

III

The activities of the *Journal* and *World* in forcing the Spanish-American War were part of a journalistic phenomenon which has received due attention by other writers. It is asserted that with the assistance of the press, modern governments can bring their people to the state of hate necessary for warmaking in a month or so. The newspapers have themselves acclaimed their achievements in recording the ebb and flow of fortune on the battlefield (insofar as censorships permit) and there is a mass of material at hand to show the usefulness of the

"My Wife Has Forgiven Me," Says Gray

Henry Judd Gray put on his old clothes last night and sent his good suit home to his mother.

He talked quietly, calmly for a few moments with Dr. Stettser, of the Department of Correction.

"I have made my peace with God," Gray said.

"I am ready to go. I have nothing to fear."

He took an envelope from a pocket and stroked it.

"This," he said, "Contains what I have been wanting—a letter of forgiveness from my wife and mother-in-law. Nothing else matters now."

DEATH BY ELECTROCUTION is faced by Judd Gray, convicted with his former mistress, Ruth Snyder, of murder in the first degree. Here is Judd in the death chair, as portrayed by Ricca. The glasses shown on Gray will not be worn at his execution.

HER SEX DIDN'T SAVE HER from a verdict of "guilty of first degree murder." The extreme penalty—death in the electric chair—will have to be paid by Mrs. Ruth Snyder, as well as by Judd Gray. This is an exact reproduction of the electric chair, taken from recent executions in Sing Sing.

Willard Mack's Masterpiece on the Verdict

A Hearst "composograph" of a scene which has been legally barred in some States from exploitation by sensational newspapers. This was printed the day after Judd Gray, a corset salesman, was found guilty with Mrs. Ruth Snyder, of her husband's death.

press in spreading false propaganda about atrocities, in order to keep blood lust at the proper temperature. The effects of such publications on the readers have been studied; some day the effects of war on the press itself will receive adequate attention; here I can but sketch them.

The outstanding effect of the Revolution was to set up in the American editorial mind the notion that the press was a palladium, and that the achievement of independence, partly through its efforts, gave it unprecedental liberties of discussion. These liberties were pushed to such extremes that the Federalists, by enactment of the Sedition Law in 1798, curbed them; and in the reaction the Federalist Party was wrecked, so seriously did the public of that day take the need of a free press.

Even before the War of 1812 one newspaper became the object of hostility on the part of its journalistic neighbors, with remarkable consequences. The *Federal Republican,* in Baltimore, denounced the war spirit and the Administration. Jacob Wagner, its editor, was a Federalist of the "black cockade" school, and his bitterness drew angry replies from other newspaper writers, who suggested that if he continued this policy after the war began he should be silenced. This may have been meant as a suggestion to the authorities, but its effect was upon the populace. It became an incitement to violence.

On June 20, 1812, a mob destroyed the type in the plant of the *Republican,* smashed the presses, and pulled down the building. Friends of the editor and his assistant (one of these friends was John Howard Payne, author of

"Home, Sweet Home") urged that the liberty of the press must be vindicated at any cost, and that publication must be resumed. The paper was printed later at Georgetown, and arrangements were made to distribute it from Wagner's Baltimore home, which was fitted out like a fortress. In command of the defenders of journalistic freedom were General J. M. Lingan and "Light Horse Harry" Lee of Revolutionary fame. As soon as distribution of the paper began, on July 27, a mob attacked the house with stones, and hauled up a cannon to demolish it. Through the intercession of the Mayor, backed by the militia, hostilities were checked, on condition that the editors and their military supporters go to Jail.

Despite the promise of its leaders, the mob gutted the house and on the following night stormed the Jail. Eight prisoners escaped under cover of dark; nine were dragged out, clubbed, and stabbed with pen-knives; melted candle grease was poured into their eyes. General Lingan died; "Light Horse Harry" Lee was a cripple for the rest of his life.

Republican newspapers, which had opposed with all their strength the Sedition Laws of 1798 (since repealed), either were silent about this mob attack upon freedom of expression, or openly praised the mob. Federalist papers asked what had become of those high-sounding sentiments about the liberty of printing. While these amenities were being exchanged, Baltimore came to be known as Mobtown.

Not until later did the gravity of the occurrence, as revealing the power of the press to arouse murderous

passion with impunity, and the power of the mob to intimidate expression, receive much editorial attention. But the note of alarm soon subsided. After all, but one editor had been silenced, and this an editor of especially venomous utterance. The matter did not arouse the popular conscience as had the earlier assault upon the freedom of the whole press. To the Sedition Laws I shall have to recur in a later chapter; the mobbing of the *Federal Republican* is noted here as throwing light on the interaction of war and the press.

Partisan emotion colored such reporting of the War of 1812 as there was. In the anti-expansionist commercial northeastern States the press gloated over our ignominious failure to annex Canada. In the jingo southern and western States much was made of our romantic victories at sea, and of General Jackson's victory (won after peace had been declared), at New Orleans. All alike suppressed Daniel Webster's furious attack in Congress on the draft. It was suppressed, indeed, for nearly a century. But at least the newspapers of that day told better than subsequent school histories how far short the United States fell of achieving the purposes set forth in its declaration of war. President Madison's resonant demands for freedom of commerce on the seas, for immunity of American seamen from impressment, for the release of sailors then in involuntary servitude aboard British ships, all were ignored in the articles of peace, and the press made it known. These demands, as Charles and Mary Beard make clear in "The Rise of American Civilization," were not the real causes of the war. When

peace came, it was a peace without victory; but its announcement by handbills, bells, messengers and candles in the windows was acclaimed with joy by all factions. In Philadelphia the *Aurora,* alone amid the general journalistic rejoicings, refused to credit the news.

The press had not yet come to the realization of its function as a news carrier, and did not suspect its shortcomings in that respect, apparently, until the War with Mexico. This began in the same year that Washington was first connected with New York by "magnetic" telegraph. There was closer communication between the leading newspapers and the seat of government, but as a fact two battles were fought before Congress officially recognized the existence of hostilities. "Nobody declared the Mexican War," said Webster, "Polk made it." There was much opposition to it, and the press maintained its independence. Those editors who opposed it (the Sedition Act having been repealed) escaped punishment.

But the principal consciousness which seems to have come to newspaper men at that time was that their facilities were totally inadequate for reporting a series of great news events at a distance. So sudden was the invasion of Mexico that dependence was placed entirely at first on regimental volunteer correspondents. The elder Bennett, by far the most aggressive of the publishers of the time, sent two Southern journalists to join General Scott's army, and often beat his contemporaries with accounts of military operations, which he illustrated with drawings and maps. Exulting over the completion of the war, the *Herald,* on November 14, 1847, said editorially:

Thus has terminated in eighteen months the conquest of a great Republic, exhibiting to the world a series of brilliant achievements, surpassing those of Napoleon in Italy; for instead of one Napoleon, ours was an army of Napoleons.

The *Herald's* reports of battles and casualty lists sometimes antedated official dispatches, and were made part of the Government records. But Bennett as well as other publishers realized that the policy of every paper for itself must be modified; and the New York dailies as a consequence formed an association to get news from incoming ships, instead of maintaining separately, at great expense, swift clippers in an attempt to beat one another. The movement toward economies and the stifling of competition was already under way.

The realization that better news-gathering facilities must be constructed was deepened by the Civil War. Bennett, who seemed to have no profound convictions save where money-getting was concerned, was strongly pro-slavery, and led all the other New York newspapers in reporting the activities of the Confederacy. It is recorded that he stopped at no expense in getting news, and actually paid one hundred dollars for six columns from a single correspondent, although he had contracted to pay only eight dollars a column. That a newspaper publisher should pay more than he must for any news excites amazement to this day. Bennett is said to have spent more than half a million dollars in reporting the Civil War. It was characteristic of him that he refused arbitrarily to pay $25 for a horse killed in battle under

one of his correspondents, because the *World* beat the correspondent on the story.

"A horse which couldn't beat the *World* isn't worth paying for," said Bennett. He had fits of liberality and sudden parsimony in dealing with his employés, and often treated them with contempt. Not infrequently he cursed them roundly.

The pro-slavery attitude of the *Herald* led the *Tribune* to call for the crushing of traitors at home as well as of rebels in the South; and it described a mob which collected in front of Bennett's office, threatening violence unless he raised the American flag. "It was perhaps unfortunate for the *Herald,*" Horace Greeley wrote, "that . . . it was obliged to send out and purchase a supply, having a day or two before, in anticipation of a very different feeling among the people, provided itself with a set of Secession colors." To this Bennett retorted: "The glorious flag of the Union is our flag, and long may it wave." Greeley nicknamed him "The Tumbler."

The Civil War, as we shall see, had its influence also in generating the Sunday paper, although not in its present form. The indirect effect of the Spanish-American War was pronounced not only in the case of the *World* and *Journal,* but on other papers throughout the country; for the spectacular resort to showmanship and appeal to mass emotion in New York was imitated by large-city papers generally. For the first time the press came to a full realization of the circulation-building properties of warfare; and they were to learn also to apply ballyhoo in other directions. The birth of ballyhoo as we know it

now came in 1898; that is to say, the most pronounced feature of present-day metropolitan journalism is an outcome of wartime experience.

When the United States entered the World War, the Board of Directors of the Associated Press adopted resolutions that

> in the crisis now confronting the country, it is not inappropriate to say that it will be the purpose of the Associated Press to bear in mind at all times that the responsibility we have as citizens must overshadow any responsibility as news-gatherers . . .

and at the meeting General Leonard Wood sat in full field uniform beside Melville E. Stone, general manager of the news agency, which thus publicly abdicated its function in order to promote warfare.

Pomeroy Burton, managing director of Northcliffe's London *Daily Mail,* came to the United States to address the advertising bureau of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and told its members how to use the advertising columns in the emergency, by printing in them "day after day and week after week patriotic appeals to the people calculated to stimulate their war spirit . . . keep the war spirit there first, last and all the time." His advice became the program.

We have seen in the chapter on the press agent how the World War affected this phenomenon in the press, and we shall see in the chapter on the tabloid picture papers how war-profits contributed to their birth. The war had made the American public "picture-minded," moreover, because photographs from the front told much

more than the censors would permit to go over the cables. Finally, the education of the public in purchasing Government bonds led to a great widening of the scope of financial reporting, to a great increase in the volume of free financial publicity, and to greater attention on the part of the general press to industrial and economic topics.

But, greater perhaps than any of these, was the effect of the war on the press in making it the subservient channel of propaganda, often wholly untrue. It is a quality of propaganda that, like bribery, it stultifies him who gives as well as him who receives it. It closes the minds of both to the truth, encourages arrogance and engenders intolerance. Its effects are perceptible even now in our press.

IV

During the celebrated Pulitzer-Hearst duel, Ochs was quietly tilling his own corner of the journalistic vineyard. The *mores* of other editors might be affected, not his. To imitate the *Journal,* the *World* or the *Herald,* as the official historian of the *Times* observes, would have been suicidal. The elder Bennett had been primarily a scandalmonger, Pulitzer primarily a crusader, Hearst primarily an entertainer; Ochs became primarily a merchant.

After making a paying business of the Chattanooga *Times,* Ochs acquired the *New York Times* by purchasing $75,000 of its bonds, under an arrangement by which he was to have control of the common stock in case the paper prospered. Relying upon the deep-seated human eagerness to know what is afoot in the world, he trafficked

in the commodity known as news, and specialized in mass-reporting. He took from the nerveless hand of the capricious younger Bennett the palm for initiative in gathering and presenting the tidings of the day. Many scoops are credited to the *Times,* some of them, such as polar expeditions and other explorations, arranged in advance. They were what newspaper men call "canned" beats, made exclusive by prior contract with the adventurer. Thus, in 1909, the *Times* was happily on the side of Commander Robert E. Peary against Dr. Frederick A. Cook, and staunchly defended his claim to priority in discovering the North Pole. It has contracted for other similar news.

And it is hard to beat. When the *World* offered Glenn Curtiss ten thousand dollars for a flight down the Hudson from Albany to New York City, the *Times* enterprisingly chartered a special train to follow the airplane, met the aviator when he descended for gasoline in the outskirts of Manhattan, and scooped the competition on its own story. Nowadays newspaper beats are even more difficult to get, and are often overblown: when the *Times* learned from a voyager, under contract to give his findings solely to this newspaper, that a little-remembered Arctic adventurer had not died naturally seventeen years before, but had been slain by an Esquimo, it presented the story, for all its antiquity, under a headline bigger than it had given to Commander Peary's historically important narrative.

Although extremely conservative in its attitude toward capital and toward the established order—conservative,

that is, as to its editorial page—the *Times* is extreme in its pursuit of news. It outdistances all competitors in the space it accords to sensational events, and in the scope of its coverage. The Wall Street broker, the salesman, the college professor, the Socialist, the labor leader, the baseball enthusiast, the lawyer, the minister of the gospel, the grocer and the candlestick maker all may find in its corpulent issues more of the intelligence they want to read than in other papers. Nearly every one scans a newspaper, secondarily if not primarily, for the information it contains about affairs and transactions related to his or her vocation or avocation; and this accounts in no small measure for the circulation of the *Times*. On the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary under the Ochs management it said editorially that when he took it over its circulation was but nine thousand, its annual gross income but half a million, and its staff of regular employés but three hundred. "At present," it continued "the *New York Times* has an average daily circulation of 370,000 and 625,000 on Sunday; it has over 3,000 regular employés, and has an annual gross income of $25,000,000."

Of this income, about seven-eighths was from the sale of space for advertising. Presenting the greatest volume of news of any American publication, the *Times* required that the advertiser pay the expense of gathering, editing and printing it.

At a time when mass production was coming into its own, Ochs succeeded in the mass production of news for literate consumption and in the mass manufacture of a compendium which the well-educated could hardly afford

to do without, and which yet was not repugnant to the semi-educated. The immense Times Annex more closely resembles a factory than a publishing house. All the mechanical processes are expertly managed, all the editorial processes strictly regimented. Ochs is not only a great merchant but a superb administrator.

Although the editorial page of the *Times* never muddies the water, and proceeds on the tranquil assumption that God's in his Heaven, all's well with the world, the policy prevails of printing letters whether or not the writers agree with this blissful attitude, and of admitting to the news columns, in most instances, both the *pro* and the *con*. A publicity man for the American Federation of Labor once told me his material got a better showing in the *Times* than in any other—and added hastily that of course this paper had more space to give than the *World*. When Lynn Frazier, then Governor of North Dakota and the acknowledged leader of a socialist experiment, the Nonpartisan League, delivered an address in New York, he refused at first to give an article to the *Times,* in the belief that the paper would misrepresent anything he said; but on consultation with some friends he reversed himself. What he had to say ran directly counter to the editorial policy of the newspaper, but was printed verbatim as a Sunday article, and conspicuously displayed. In my own long experience on the *Times,* I was never but once reproved for writing anything contrary to the paper's policy; and this happened after Ochs had let the reins slip somewhat from his fingers. Part of his time has been spent in attending public dinners and

accepting doctorates and the same thing is true of Hearst. To Ochs a gold medal for leadership in journalism was awarded by the National Institute of Social Sciences.

The greatest *news*paper in the world is the world's richest newspaper. Its annual profits run around four millions. When Ochs gained control he capitalized it at one million, but has since increased the common stock tenfold, and has retired all the bonds. His property has none of the fine frenzy of the crusading press. It has no mission to save the people from themselves or from their overlords. It shares the mystical faith which William Allen White attributes to Mr. Coolidge, that prosperity is godliness, or at least godly. It never "makes" news, unless the Hundred Neediest Cases can be called that. It never campaigns to expose corruption or industrial ills. Its editorial premise is America-as-it-is.

V

Of the three types of daily journalism herein described, the strictly commercial type has been somewhat the slowest in making its way. In the late nineties and the early part of this century stunts of crusading, stunts of entertaining and stunts of reportorial detective work were a commonplace. Against this unruly tide the sober morality of commercialization made headway with difficulty. The Chicago *Daily News,* the Kansas City *Star,* and the Los Angeles *Times* fell into line among the first. The trends toward standardization, chains, syndicates and consolidation were symptoms elsewhere of economic pressure. It was not supposed at first that a newspaper could

achieve the mass circulation demanded by the advertiser without cutting capers week-days as well as Sundays. That one could wear the sombre garb of the *Times,* and strive to be entertaining only on the Sabbath, with any degree of financial success, seemed dubious.

Yet as time went on the Ochs policy vindicated itself, so far as the ledger was concerned. Crusading fell more and more into disfavor. Newspapers still clung to the entertainment program, in most instances, but there was less and less disposition to be courageously troublesome. And during this process lay criticism of the press waxed ever more and more acute. It became so much the order of the day that the editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* proposed the establishment of a permanent bureau, to be supplied with competent legal counsel and to be financed at an annual cost of twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars, to stem the tides of abuse. The space devoted by the eight-column papers to murder trials and other crime news, as well as the pornography of the tabloid picture papers, were partly responsible for the public attitude. Yet it was not true, as many seemed to suppose, that all virtue had gone out of the press, or that the "fighting editor" was dead.

Horace M. Kallen, in "Why Religion," observes that "churchdom is despised, its services are called for nevertheless." Newspaperdom is despised, its services are called for nevertheless. I recall the paralysis which crept over the city of New York, in the Fall of 1923, when the town found itself, owing to a press-room strike, shorn for a few days of its customary ballyhoo of news, enter-

tainment and advertising. What had been taken quite as a matter of course became, in its absence, of vital importance. Merchants lost millions of dollars in those few days; sales fell off alarmingly. Commuters stared stonily at flying landscapes, and Wall Street had to content itself with a thin dribble of news from the ticker. What was happening at the City Hall, in Chicago, London, Charleston, Samoa? Millions of confused and angry readers found themselves cut off at a single stroke from the outside world, even from the tidings of their own vast community. And millions of admirers of the Gumps, and thirsters for advice to the lovelorn, were bereft of their daily pabulum. Where were the japes of the columnists, where the soporific of the bedtime story? The good that newspapers did was not interrèd during that hiatus, but leaped out of nothing into life, and the evil they had been accused of doing was forgot.

We take too much for granted the daily service of the press in acquainting us with that major part of our environment which is beyond our five senses. We seldom realize how little information we get from other sources, from neighborhood gossip, the motion picture and the radio. William James might have devoted a paragraph of his essay "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings" to this universal frailty toward the newspaper. He does tell, in another place, of a traveller in a savage land who came across an old copy of a commercial journal, and devoured it line by line, column by column, page by page; but the point he makes there is that the savages thought this some strange eye-medicine, and offered him a princely

price for the paper. Only by indirection was the fact conveyed of literate man's dependence on the press.

How far, one wonders, could the Red Cross go in the alleviation of suffering during great disasters, such as a Mississippi flood or an earthquake in Japan, if it had not at its finger tips an auxiliary touching the mind and imagination of every person in the United States able to read and able to understand pictures? How far could municipal health officers go in combating epidemics and giving warnings about the pestilential fly?

In campaigns for civic betterment, in "drives" for educational, religious, charitable and philanthropic causes, the daily paper performs a service all but thankless. It raised two millions for devastated France. Sometimes it exposes public corruption and drives unworthy office-holders to cover. But generalizations of this sort may not prove so convincing as specific instances. Let us glance, then, at the recent record; not a detailed and complete record, but at some examples as they happen to have fallen under my eye.

VI

There is the matter of combating the toll of life taken by automobiles in the United States. The number of persons killed in motor vehicle accidents runs annually to about half the number of American soldiers who were killed or died as a result of the World War. The number would mount still higher were it not for the work done by the press. The St. Louis *Star* pays daily to the most careful driver ten dollars. The Los Angeles *Eve-*

ning Herald has brought into being a bond issue of $350,000 to pay for tunnels in congested districts, running beneath the streets from curb to curb; construction of eighteen has been begun or completed, and fifty are planned. The New Yorker who coined the contradictory term, "orderly congestion," might almost find in this western city a justification for his phrase.

The Milwaukee *Journal* led a campaign for a law, which the Legislature duly enacted, punishing drunken drivers with jail sentences, so that they might no longer escape with fines. The Kansas City *Star* published photographs of children killed under trucks and pleasure machines. "This is not pleasant to print," it observed on each occasion, "but the number of deaths in Kansas City from motor vehicle accidents makes it necessary." The Rochester, N. Y., papers united in a campaign for "arterial highways," and the Chicago *Tribune* fought for the widening of important streets from eighteen to forty feet, to relieve congestion. The San Francisco *Call* and the Syracuse (N. Y.) *Herald* organized drivers into safety clubs, each member of which signed a pledge and wore a button. The Detroit *Free Press* stimulated Safety Week observances, brought about the installation of zones for pedestrians at important transit points, gave free brake tests for drivers, and urged that cars improperly parked be impounded. It caused the establishment, too, of a permanent traffic court, where offenders got their deserts speedily. The *Daily Oklahoman* and the *Oklahoma Times* combined to fix personal responsibility for accidents. And so it has gone. The record is not to be set

aside lightly. It can be thrown into the scales against a lot of scandal and trivia. The effort of these and other newspapers in life-saving on our streets accrues to the advantage of the motorist as well as the safety of harassed pedestrians.

The Birmingham *News* gives away four-year scholarships, and the Minneapolis *Journal* medals, for those who win school prizes; the Los Angeles *Times* conducts an international oratorical contest, the Grand Rapids *Press* stimulates landscaping, and the Indianapolis *News* encourages its readers in effective ways to own their homes.

George Washington English, a Federal Judge in the Eastern District of Illinois, resigned from the bench in time to prevent the United States Senate from going on with the impeachment proceedings voted by the House. For this the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* was responsible. It established that the judge had abused his power in the appointment of a bankruptcy receiver, and had designated as depository a bank in which he was interested; that his anti-labor injunctions were extraordinary and severe; that he violated the constitutional rights of a legal defender of the unions; and that his language was not befitting the bench. This newspaper supplied the evidence on which the impeachment proceedings were based, and acquitted itself honorably in a public cause.

Not less useful was the achievement of E. J. Lynett, owner and editor of the Scranton (Pa.) *Times*. He brought together, during a coal strike, the president of the anthracite miners and the spokesman for the operators. There was a conference and a settlement of the

strike, although not in accordance with the newspaper's terms.

The *Times* [said Mr. Lynett] doesn't care a hoot whether its plan or somebody else's is the basis of a final settlement. Through the life of the conflict, it has held up the hands of the operators on the issues in which it has felt they were right, and those of the miners when it considered that the right was on their side. It has favored anything that has seemed to promise resumption of work at the mines.

And this the *Times* achieved. The achievement came out of a policy, not of following or voicing public opinion, but of undertaking to lead it. Ten years ago no Scranton newspaper would tell the truth about conditions in the mines; civic and commercial organizations and lunch clubs agreed that to do so would hurt the town. Their motto was Silence: a Conspiracy of Silence, that the boosters might be heard. The *Times* not only printed the facts but helped distribute them over the country; and since then conditions in the mines have vastly improved. So, in passing, has the prosperity of Scranton.

It has required no little courage for the editors of southern newspapers to fight the entrenched Ku Klux Klan, but some of them have done it doughtily and with distinction. There was Julian Harris, of the Columbus (Ga.) *Enquirer-Sun;* there was the exposure in the Memphis *Commercial-Appeal,* which won a Pulitzer prize; there was another in the Birmingham *Age-Herald;* and there was the Macon *Telegraph's* merciless drive against the Reverend John Roach Straton and the Supreme Kingdom,

a "religious, fraternal and benevolent organization to fight atheism and its accursed ally, evolution."

The *Telegraph* ran a series of four articles about this organization, timing the publication of the first to coincide with the arrival of the reverend New York City fundamentalist, who had left his pulpit in the Calvary Baptist Church to lecture for this other Kingdom. It showed that the organizer was not accountable for the funds he collected, that he got more than eight thousand dollars for a "Crusader" membership—of which $2 went toward the financing of the organization and the balance toward "upkeep"—that the life insurance policy issued to members was pronounced "of doubtful character" by the State Comptroller-General, and that the Kingdom spread atheistic literature in order to combat it. The Rev. Dr. Straton, the newspaper said, was to deliver a series of sixty lectures and was head of the order's religious activities. The clergyman denied the statement that he had received $5,000 for his Macon lecture. He admitted that for another he had received a fee—and at the behest of leaders in his congregation he withdrew from the association.

Another Georgia editor, who made war on bootleggers, fared ill. He was H. M. Flanders of the Soperton *News*. A gang of men wearing flour sacks over their heads stopped him on a lonely road, beat him with their fists, with straps and sticks, and left him unconscious on a highway bridge. Before he lost consciousness they told him they would "learn" him what to print in his paper. Undaunted, he continued the fight.

Threats of violence were levelled at Blaine Hansen, editor of the Beloit (Wis.) *Independent,* when he took up a similar campaign. A stone was thrown through a front window of his dwelling. Yet he continued printing the facts as they became known from day to day: that when bootleggers were arraigned, invariably the same firm of lawyers defended them, and invariably the cases came to little or nothing. The lawyers sued him for libel. So did the Chief of Police, whom he accused of corruption. "Nothing they have done or may do in the future," said the newspaper, "will alter in one iota our determination to carry through this fight for a clean-up in Beloit."

Not violence and court actions alone are invoked to make such editors see the errors of their ways. F. A. Miller of the South Bend *Tribune* exposed open gambling in cigar shops there; and although the city administration, which was of opposite political faith from the newspaper, supported the exposure by making arrests, two cigar manufacturers of national reputation withdrew their advertising. The *Tribune* refrained from printing the names of these firms, because it did not wish to pose—or appear to pose—as a martyr.

The assassination of Don Mellett, of the Canton (Ohio) *Daily News,* at the height of his campaign against vice in that city, has been too generally discussed in newspapers and magazines to warrant my dwelling on it. The man paid to kill him has been convicted. He and two other conspirators were sentenced to life imprisonment. The fight is going on.

Nor has the editorial page altogether lost its power.

The Boston *Herald,* an extremely conservative organ, merits mention here for its attitude toward the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It did not initiate the movement for a rehearing. The daily press in this country apparently did not suspect that the condemned men were entitled to a rehearing (or at any rate said nothing of it) until there were demonstrations abroad. But that a newspaper strongly opposed in its editorial policy to radicalism should have taken an upstanding position, as did the *Herald,* on behalf of two radicals, deserves mention. This sort of thing is too rare and too inspiriting not to be cherished. In a different direction the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* demonstrated that the editorial arm is not yet withered in America. It demanded an engineering commission to study control of the Mississippi River, during the most disastrous of its floods; and in a single issue it supported its editorial page by printing eighteen columns of news endorsing the proposal. Instances such as these tend to restore, in some degree, a prestige and confidence which the press generally has permitted to slip from it.

In this honor roll (which does not pretend to be complete) two St. Louis papers and one in Boston are the only very large properties listed. A syndicate embracing many big-city papers did, indeed, distribute a questionnaire on religion, and another similar syndicate conducted school contests in orations on the Constitution, both of which campaigns won applause in certain quarters. In both cases, however, the syndicates lent their columns to organized propaganda: the religious questionnaire was the work of an advertising agency, employed by a group of

churches. Belligerent campaigning, of a sort calculated to offend a large or influential section of the community, is rare in those newspapers which are weighted by the consciousness of huge capital investment. Crusading against bootlegging and other vices, against the Ku Klux and political corruption, is to be observed oftener in the smaller cities and towns, where the financial stake is not so great. There is a kind of independence which is born of prosperity; but prosperity is itself a hostage which limits freedom.

VII

Nevertheless, not all the press is indolent, timorous or conformist. Evidences are to be found of courageous dissent. As for the whole press, it exercises a worthwhile educational function in its annual advice to swat the fly, in telling how to guard against influenza, in abetting clean-streets movements, and in similar almost noncontroversial fields. As to the value of this capacity I need only quote Dr. Joseph Colt Bloodgood of Johns Hopkins University, a cancer expert:

Due to the spreading of sound advice about the teeth, excessive use of tobacco and of stimulants, [he says] seventy per cent of the possible cancer patients who come to us arrive in time to save themselves from actual infection. In the days before the newspapers were spreading health education less than three per cent came in time.

Does some one say that it is no business of the press to tell its readers to brush their teeth if they would avoid cancer, or to warn them against overindulgence in alcohol?

Such a viewpoint fails to take into account the conditions implicit in the charter under which the daily press of this United States functions. The freedom of the press, as we shall see in Chapter XIV, is a privilege, and it is a privilege with a string to it. It is clear that no newspaper which prints merely a record of the news can lay claim to the Constitutional guarantee of privileged status. Aware of this, *Editor and Publisher* says:

It is immoral for a man to own a newspaper if he does not take seriously the public responsibility that runs with such proprietorship. He regards his property as merely a business, whereas it is a business plus a civic trusteeship. He is in no wise interested in it as an art, but it does represent a high function in the artistry of a community. He is unwilling to make any sacrifice for it, financial, social or political. But a newspaper demands of its owner constant sacrifice in every department of life. He sits there in full occupancy of the field, yet he is not cultivating that field. His ploughing is only half done and his crop is a half crop.

Here lies the true test of morality: Only those newspapers which step beyond the field of routine news, and lend themselves to constructive public service, are ethically heirs of a guarantee of liberty. Nor is it a long step to disinherit them legally. It is as well to remind ourselves, as we survey a commercialized press, that there are still editors who are sensible of their responsibilities. It can do no harm for every newspaper reader to audit the account once in every so often, as between him and the daily he reads.

CHAPTER VII

TABLOID PICTURE PAPERS

Legitimate Heirs of the Fourth Estate

EXECUTIVES of our obese eight-column press are fond of berating the tabloid picture papers in terms armed to the teeth. They would have us believe that the newcomers are freaks, variants, a "Fifth Estate." They repudiate responsibility for the character and tone of the tabloids. Yet I believe a cool examination of the facts will reveal that these irrepressible sheets are in truth the legitimate heirs of the Fourth Estate. All their characteristics are inherited from their ancestors or acquired from their big brothers. None of their practices but has been sanctified by journalistic tradition or accepted as present-day custom. There are some editors whose circulation and advertising are not menaced, and who yet regard the picture papers as wallowing in a nastier gutter than the press of this country had approached before their day. But the attacks upon them by their stable-mates appear to be founded in fear and jaundiced by jealousy.

I

If we take a picture paper apart we can readily see whether or not there is a family resemblance. It is called a picture paper because nearly all its first page and a good part of other pages are occupied by illustrations. But

more than half a century before Bernarr Macfadden set upon its feet his *Evening Graphic,* there was a picture paper in New York called the *Daily Graphic.* It gave all its first page to an illustration, and it had five columns to the page, as the present tabloids have. But it was a slightly larger format. The columns were wider, and the page was five inches longer. Inside was a "double-truck" of pictures, and half the back page was given over to them.

This, the first illustrated daily newspaper in the world, merits further attention. It was published at 41 Park Place, on a site where Alexander Hamilton played ball as a boy, and where, later, Columbia University had its beginning as King's College. As a fact this was a job-printing plant, housed in a marble structure five stories above ground and two below. The paper was founded in 1872, and the last copy I have been able to find is dated —there had been a change in management—September 23, 1889. It called itself "the greatest newspaper enterprise of the day," and said that as an advertising medium it was unsurpassed. At first the price was five cents a copy, but later it was reduced to eighteen cents a week; and perhaps the change may be explained by the fact that at first it was printed on rag paper, while its newsprint in later years was of wood pulp.

In early editions the editorials were printed on the second page, but later they were shifted to the fourth. Here were also personalities, verse, "graphicalities," news of the foreign stage and once a discussion of an expedition by air across the Atlantic. In the panic of 1873 one first page showed a picture of the mad crowd in front of

the Union Trust Company after its suspension, with a picture above of Jay Gould (whom the paper termed a daring and successful speculator) and of a broker who had failed a few days before. These, I submit, were as much "news" pictures as most of the stuff printed in the tabloids of to-day, or in the Sunday rotogravure sections.

After the change to pulpwood paper the *Daily Graphic* of that day began printing more news on its first page: sometimes a sensational murder, or a forecast of the Brooklyn Jockey Club's racing card for the next day. Half a page was devoted to drawings and a story about "the physical development of the Boston nine." The enterprising news editor sent a reporter and special artist to Plummerville, Arkansas, to cover the assassination of Colonel John M. Clayton. The story and pictures did not appear until nearly a month after "the foul murder," when the identity of the slayer was still an unsolved mystery, for no one had witnessed it. But the biggest of the pictures illustrating the story showed the actual scene of the murder, with an overturned chair, the assassin with smoking revolver, and the Colonel staggering back from a bullet in his breast. Compare this, if you will, with the tabloid "composographs" of to-day.

The paper had four editions every afternoon. It was loud in its own praise. It devoted a whole page to a single news event, on occasion. It printed a list of the thirty-five cities, ranging all the way to San Francisco and New Orleans, where it was on sale. Edison was already "the wizard of electricity," and an editorial informs us that he was just returning from abroad, where

Page One of the first picture paper in the world, which was five columns wide, but not of the present tabloid size. The Daily Graphic *of* 1872 *featured a cartoon not untimely to-day.*

he "was received with almost royal honors." The day Wilkie Collins died, the *Daily Graphic* recorded the fact in New York, and gave it a dignified editorial paragraph. The day William Cullen Bryant, editor of the *Evening Post,* died, it remarked unfeelingly that he had never made that newspaper the literary vehicle it pretended to be. The magazine advertisements show that Robert Louis Stevenson, Andrew Lang, Justin McCarthy, James Lane Allen, William Dean Howells, and Charles Dudley Warner were among the contributors. *Scribner's* favored the local talent, *Harper's* the English-bred. There was a page of the newspaper on Saturdays devoted to book reviews and quotations from the current library output. On this day the paper ran to twelve pages; on others to eight.

This paper preceded by several years the penny illustrated tabloid *Graphic* in London. Prior to the appearance of the first New York picture paper, illustrations were carved on wood blocks, too slow a process for a daily publication in most cases. In 1873 zinc was etched for the first time with acids, and in the following year a photo-lithographic process was invented. The New York *Graphic* was the first newspaper anywhere to carry illustrations from photographs, on December 2, 1873, just after the process then called "granulating photography" came into use.

Notwithstanding this prior claim, Joseph Pulitzer is commonly credited by newspaper writers with having been first to boost circulation for his St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and then his *World* in New York by the use

of photo-illustrations. They were circulation-builders; and the *New York Times,* when it began printing an illustrated Sunday magazine in the late nineties, was so gratified that it soon came to printing entire sections made up solely of pictures. In 1914 it was the first to bring to this country from Germany the rotogravure process.

These facts, it seems to me, afford a sufficient background for newspaper illustrations. They had been in use for nearly fifty years before the first tabloid picture paper was established in New York, and they had been a money-making feature. Whole sections had been devoted to them on Sundays, sometimes whole pages on week-days. The use of them by the tabloids, therefore, is in no sense a new technique. It is at most a difference of emphasis.

II

Nor must we suppose that the format is a new idea, or a new technique. Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* suggested it in a letter written in the early seventies to Whitelaw Reid. What he had in mind was a daily newspaper, not a picture paper, containing condensed stories and modelled in appearance on *The Nation,* with the top half of its back pages given over to small advertisements, and a snappy serial to run beneath. The convenience of the proposed change was obvious: already the blanket newspaper had become an imposition upon the purchaser, because it could not be read at ease even in the arm-chair at home, much less going to and from work. Yet the suggestion found no

takers. The advertiser opposed it. He found the huge daily page an advantageous place for bill-poster ballyhoo. He was unwilling to change his method or adjust his announcements to a page only half as large.

Frank A. Munsey, a good merchandiser although a second-rate editor, made his first venture into daily journalism in 1891 by merging the *Star* and *Continent* into the *Daily Continent,* the first tabloid in the United States, if the term tabloid be restricted to that precise size. But he could not persuade other merchandisers to support his paper, and it soon died. Meanwhile the tabloid papers had been a great success in London; and Lord Northcliffe, during a visit to New York, got out the *World* of January 1, 1901, in this format. Maundering Associated Press dispatches were abbreviated into a coherent and straightforward account of relevant facts, and the reporter working on space found his garrulity temporarily checked. The circulation of the *World* jumped that day by one hundred thousand; but the elder Pulitzer apparently attributed this sign of public favor to mere novelty, or was influenced by the pressure of his advertisers. Certainly he took no advantage of the portent.

The format gained favor, nevertheless, for certain Sunday supplements. Those advertisers who frowned on it could use other sections. Early in this century a daily trade paper in New York, *Women's Wear,* was established and prospered as a tabloid. Here and there, in Seattle, Baltimore, Boston, attempts were made to establish tabloid newspapers, and failed. William Randolph Hearst finally succeeded in keeping one alive in Boston,

and the Scripps-Howard group, adroit and resourceful, were successful in Washington, as well as in Baltimore. But these are not, of course, picture papers.

The first successful tabloid picture paper of the present vintage was a child of the Chicago *Tribune,* and was established in New York June 26, 1919. It was called the *Daily News;* in an extraordinarily brief period it achieved the largest daily and Sunday circulation in the United States. In less than eight years it passed the million mark, and was alone in that field. Colonel R. R. McCormick and Captain J. M. Patterson, owners of the prodigy, had anticipated no such success. They had founded the paper in the comfortable conviction that, whether it succeeded or failed, their purposes would be served. If it failed, it would provide an outlet for excess profits. The sensational, boastful and vulgar Chicago *Tribune* had made so much money (thanks to the volume of advertising wherewith Big Business sought to decrease payment of swollen post-war taxes to Uncle Sam) that the owners of the paper were hard put to it to find an outlet for their own surplus. They distributed a three-million-dollar bonus to their employés, an outburst of generosity unprecedented in their underpaid editorial shop, and still had more money than they wanted to pay super-taxes on. If the *Daily News* lost money—and of course it must during its first year at least—it would be useful.

In case the tabloid made good, in time, it would cut in cruelly, so the owners were convinced, on the circulation of Hearst's *American.* Thus would an old grudge be satisfied. In Chicago the circulation war between the

The Daily Continent.

The first page of the first issue of New York's first tabloid daily, February 1, 1891. This, Frank A. Munsey's earliest newspaper venture, was doomed to failure.

Patterson-McCormick *Tribune* and the Hearst *Examiner* (now the *Herald-Examiner*) had been waged with exacerbated bitterness, even to the employment of gangsters and gunmen on delivery wagons, and the maintenance by one newspaper of its private hospital on a twenty-four-hour basis.

An effort to buy the New York *Tribune* failed; and a visit to London, where Northcliffe strongly counselled a tabloid picture paper, played its part. At first the Hearst forces looked with amusement and a little pity upon the dwarfed smudgy *Daily News*. But the newcomer began to grow at a lusty and alarming rate. It conducted contests and gave large money prizes. It devoted nearly all its first page to pictures, and whole pages inside. It was strong on piety, patriotism and prurience. The *American* began to feel the cutting edge of the competition, and instituted a lottery contest, called "Lady Luck," in which the holder of a certain coupon would win a $1,000 prize daily. The *Daily News* started a similar lottery, offering $2,500 daily, with subsidiary prizes. The *American* jumped to $5,000, and circulation began to mount. The *News* retaliated with a $10,000 prize, and its competitor went to $15,000. The *American's* sales had increased by more than two hundred thousand, there were riots in the Battery when the paper was distributed, and the owners of both properties were in a perspiration. The capital prize was boosted to $20,000, then to $25,000. Neither paper could stand the strain. Advertising rates could not be adjusted to their leaping circulations, and they had to cut down drastically on editorial expenses. At

this juncture Captain Patterson's cousin, the late Senator Medill McCormick, called conveniently at the Postoffice Department, and a ruling was issued that papers conducting such lotteries should not be sent through the mails. Thus was terminated a main engagement in what was to prove a sanguinary war. There was to follow a bitter contest in sensationalism and illustration.

To suppose that the illustration based on insufficient fact, or faked outright, is a phenomenon peculiar to the picture papers, is wide of the mark. Back in 1875 (on June 30) the New York *Tribune* printed what purported to be a picture of a rifle contest between Americans and British in Dublin, the morning after the match took place. The *Daily Graphic* of that day, as we have seen, printed a drawing of a shooting from no facts at all, or next to none; and on March 15, 1881, it printed an illustration of the assassination of the Czar, in what was then called St. Petersburg, on the basis of a cabled "sketch."

The New York *Evening Sun* and the *Mail* printed on the first page, October 31, 1914, reproductions of the same photograph. One labelled it the sinking of three ships (which were named) by a German submarine; the other said it showed the sinking of German destroyers by a British cruiser. The *New York Times* asked a marine artist to draw a picture of the surrender of the German fleet, before the event, but he declined to do it for lack of facts. The Chicago *Tribune,* on August 2, 1921, published what it said was a photograph of Soviet soldiers turning a machine gun on a crowd of men, women and children. This picture had been printed in the *Tribune*

four years earlier, and actually represented a World War scene, as the paper acknowledged. The New York *Evening Post,* before it passed into the ownership of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, was outspoken about such matters: on February 17, 1908, it observed: "The temptation to fake pictures is considerably stronger than the temptation to fake news itself, and it is yielded to with proportionately greater frequency by those papers that make the pretence that their pictorial chronicle is anything like as complete as their news service."

The swift successes of the *Daily News* were not due to new technique in picture-exploitation, although there was a new emphasis, as I have said. To meet the competition the Hearst forces tried issuing a tabloid as part of the *American,* but "two papers in one" added no readers. They prepared straightway to issue a tabloid competitor, but not until June, 1924, did they do so. The new picture paper was called the *Daily Mirror,* and aped the *News* in every particular. Philip A. Payne, managing editor of the *News,* was lured away to take charge of the venture. In the Fall of the following year Bernarr Macfadden founded a similar paper, sometimes known as the *Porno Graphic.* It was not long before the three of them claimed two out of every five daily-paper readers in Manhattan.

III

These extraordinary circulation gains were not made to any great extent at the expense of the blanket-size newspapers. The most the picture papers did was to stop the normal increase of sales for their big brothers. But the

eight-column papers were in a blue funk for years, even after it became apparent that, like the elder James Gordon Bennett in his day, like the elder Joseph Pulitzer in his day, like William Randolph Hearst in his, the newcomers had but dipped down into subcirculation strata. They captured a semi-literate audience. But the unwieldy press learned to cut new capers in its terror. It ran to bigger and bigger headlines, it printed more and more pictures. Sometimes there was a daily page of pictures. Whereas the tabloids printed the picture on the first page, and announced that the story would be found, say, on page three, the *American* printed the story in its show window, and announced that the picture would be found elsewhere. The managing editor of a great daily admitted that in time all newspapers must come to the convenient format, that this was the journalism of the future. He was late saying so. Colonel George Harvey, in a Bromley lecture at Yale, had uttered the prophecy early in this century.

Granting that the pictures and the format are nothing new, what of the headlines and the kinds of news printed in the picture papers? Once I spied at a distance a tabloid headline, two inches tall, "LUST . . . FOR PEACHES." This impressed me as a strange perversion, and I bought the paper, as was intended by its publisher. On closer inspection I descried smaller type between the two-inch letters, and found that the legend ran: "LUST FOR publicity made Daddy wed, says PEACHES." (About lust for publicity there is nothing strange: it is a commonplace of the North American spectacle.) I might multiply examples of this sort of typographical trickery. Do you

suppose it is new? No, most grave and reverend seigniors, it is not new. It was a sign-manual of that wave of yellow journalism which spread in the late nineties from New York across this continent.

Now, when a vice society haled the owner and an editor of the *Daily Graphic* into court, chiefly on account of the treatment of the Peaches Browning case, it was nothing new to Bernarr Macfadden: he had been in that sort of trouble before. But there was, nevertheless, something new about the case. It was new in that the blanket-size papers printed stories about it. When the elder James Gordon Bennett was prosecuted by the Federal Government, and fined $25,000 for printing immoral advertisements in his blanket-size *Herald,* not one of his competitors breathed a word of it. Although other publishers hated and despised him, they would not expose him, owing to a tacit conspiracy of silence on the part of the press. When Mme. Gadski sued the *Herald Tribune* not long ago for damages, nothing was said about it—that is, nothing until the *Herald Tribune* defeated the suit. But when the tabloid *Daily Mirror* was sued by defendants in the Hall-Mills case for $1,500,000, all the eight-column papers told about it, some at the top of their first pages, as screamingly as might be. This, I take it, was to impress upon the public that the tabloids had never been admitted to the close communion of modern metropolitan journalism. In public speeches and in editorials the sanctimonious elder brother had cast the dwarfed and impudent youngster into outer damnation: these stories of

court actions were but an aftermath of the excommunication.

IV

The picture papers, nevertheless, are entitled to a rehearing. They have done nothing in the way of headlines nor of news that their predecessors and contemporaries have not done or are not doing. They supply an "escape" literature for the kitchen maid and ribbon-counter clerk. Well, the elder Bennett started this, back in the eighteen-thirties, and the daily press, by and large, has been doing it ever since. As for sensationalism and sex, they are an old story. Even the *Daily Graphic* of the seventies knew their value, as circulation-getters.

In order to see how the most successful picture paper compared with eight-column papers in the ballyhoo of a famous murder trial, I was at some pains to measure the *Daily News,* Hearst's *American* and Och's *Times* during the Hall-Mills murder trial. I measured them as to space—column inches—given to words and pictures, and from the space given to the stories was able to compute the wordage, if I may use that term. Here is a brief summary:

	Words	Pictures (in column inches)
Times	528,300	435
American	347,700	2,691
Daily News ..	223,400	2,962

It will be seen that the *American* used only two-thirds as much wordage as the *Times,* the tabloid *News* only

two-fifths as much. In sheer wordage, the most eminent of these dailies led the whole American press. It had more space to give, and it freely gave.

The prize for thrilling newspaper narrative is difficult to award as among the three papers I studied. I will set down samples from the stories of a single day, the day an effigy of Mrs. Mills's head was exhibited in court, and let the reader take his choice.

From the *Daily News:*

Mrs. Hall went to a matinée yesterday.

The rich widow who is battling for her life . . . attended a hideous exhibition staged for her benefit. . . . But she could not look at it.

Her brothers looked. The show fascinated them.

From the *American:*

Ah, yes, this Mrs. Frances Noel Stevens Hall is human, after all. . . .

Human—and a woman!

She showed it yesterday afternoon.

The proud, stoical front she has been presenting to the world as she sits in the little chapel-like courtroom in Somerville . . . was shaken by a distinct shudder.

From the *Times:*

Shudders passed along the rows of spectators as the doctor marked in red crayon the entry point of the bullets, or in a sweeping motion of the crayon showed how the choir singer's throat had been cut. . . . Mrs. Frances Stevens Hall had shot a second's glance at the exhibit and had averted her eyes.

On each of two days, the *Times* printed more than 18,000 words of a single witness's testimony. The *News* threw out $20,000 worth of advertising one day to make room for the story. Yet the victims were an obscure clergyman and a janitor's wife.

When a corset salesman and his paramour were tried for their lives a few months later, the ballyhoo of sensationalism did not run to such lengths. For one thing, the Hall-Mills case had proved a dud, from the circulation standpoint. To cover it on such an extensive scale cost huge sums of money, and there was no such return in an increased sale of papers as to make possible a higher milline advertising rate. The *Evening World* actually lost in circulation. And then in the Snyder case there was no element of mystery, as in the first, nor any pronounced element of suspense. Yet 120 reporters were assigned to this case, more than represented all the American newspapers and news agencies in the Far East, at that moment a tinder-box into which might be dropped purposefully the spark of another World War. Not only reporters were assigned to the murder trial, but, among others, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Billy Sunday, Willard Mack, David Wark Griffith, Peggy Joyce, and the Reverend John Roach Straton. From one newspaper, not a tabloid, I wish to quote a staring headline: "Mrs. Snyder's Attire Wins All. Her Chic but Decorous Costume, with Hint of Mourning, Held a Masterpiece." It was for the murder of Mrs. Snyder's husband that the two were on trial, and the fair defendant's wardrobe, like Miss Pickford's at the Valentino funeral, became big news.

V

Like some of their ancestors and some of their big brothers, the picture papers are crusaders, sometimes usefully, sometimes idiotically, sometimes offensively. They constitute themselves private detectives, prosecutors, courts of justice, after the practice of the press in this United States for, lo, these many years. The *Daily Mirror* was solely responsible for the reopening of the Hall-Mills case after it had lain four years cold. Undoubtedly it was actuated by an ambition to build circulation against the summer slump, and its series of stories, material for which had been gathered during eight months, was reserved until July for publication. Its reporters posed as representatives of the group subsequently indicted, they worked hand-in-glove with private detectives, and they made secret inspections of the grand jury minutes. Philip Payne asserted that, far above the circulation motive, he wished to protest against newspaper acceptance of publicity agents' and lawyers' "hand-outs"; he believed there had been no legal action when the crime was committed because the eight-column papers had grown too fat, too lazy and too incompetent to do the work as they should have done it.

Now, the *Mirror* used in this case precisely the methods used by the old *Sun* and *Herald* and *Times* and *Tribune* when they investigated crimes and crime mysteries during the latter part of the last century and early in this. The older papers have grown more sedate with the passage of years and the ac-

quisition of safe and sane—and well-paying—advertisers. No tabloid could relish a salty scandal more than they, once the stuff was laid in their laps, but they had passed the turbulent period when they built circulation by muddying the waters. Not muckrakers, they! But when prosecutors and press agents had done the preliminary work—or when an energetic picture paper had done it—they swarmed to the feast as solemnly as vultures.

No one will pretend that "trial by newspaper" is a defensible institution in this country, or that it should continue. A means may be found to stop it. But no one can assert successfully that the tabloid picture papers started it, or that they have gone any further in that direction than the press went before they came into being. The daily eight-column newspaper, in very truth, is tarred with the stick of the tabloid: tarred with its pictures, its format, its headlines, its sensationalism, its rowdyism, its salacity, its meddlesomeness.

After the outcropping of sensationalism in the American press in the fourth decade of the last century, there was a gradual swing to the right. After its revival in the last decade of that century there was a similar swing toward decency. There is no reason to suppose we will not witness a similar movement on the part of the tabloid picture papers. Indeed, it is already in evidence. When cities began barring the *Graphic* on account of its stories about a domestic scandal, the *News* awoke to the majesty of public opinion, and announced that it might have gone too far, itself, in details about the case. It would call a halt. It would be good. And since then it has been perceptibly

better. Any newspaper man who examines its pages must conclude that, in spite of the somewhat bizarre make-up, it gives as good a coverage of news as many other morning newspapers. It is leading in the march to the right. I think we may fairly expect the others to follow, as a sop to advertisers, if nothing more. Advertisers like the "home paper," and are disquieted at sensational crusading.

VI

It is commonly said that we live in a machine age. In "The Golden Day" Lewis Mumford observes that the Civil War—although the fact was not recognized then—was a war to determine which of two slaveries should flourish, the slavery of a human minority, or the slavery of all to the machine; and he is dubious whether we have not paid a higher price because the machine was victorious. To me it seems more comprehensive to call this the factory age. We have three interlacing factory systems. One is the public school factory, turning out hordes of literate but uneducated persons. Another is the group of mill and factory and office-building and mine, providing employment for these hordes; providing, moreover, a surplus of wages, and a surplus of leisure wherein to spend the money. The third system takes in the newspaper factories, which spit out printed and folded tons of pulpwood paper as fast as the eye can follow them. The newspaper offers a mart wherein the commodity factory may shriek its wares, and exploit its own workers, who spend more and more of their surplus on newly-created wants. The newspaper offers to the literate but

uneducated workers an escape, an entertainment, a thrill, an opiate.

This is not to say that we should dispense with the public school factory, which feeds its output into the maw of the commodity factory and the newspaper factory with impartial zeal. That literacy must be a foundation stone of democratic government is a popular dogma. That literacy does sharpen certain faculties of the intelligence seems beyond doubt. That, as acquired in this country, it strangles initiative and dwarfs the imaginative powers is equally beyond doubt. The common school graduate has paid a high price for the ability to read and write. But he gets good pay in return: good pay, that is to say, in his weekly envelope, and in his ability to read the daily newspaper, which helps him forget what he has lost.

An executive of one of the picture papers says that they are as characteristic of the machine age as jazz. Paul Whiteman says jazz is the folk-music of the machine age. What then are the tabloids, which supply to a multitude of morons the kind of pictures they like to see, and the kind of stuff they like to read? Satisfying instinctive appetites and emotions, and fitting neatly into the scheme of an industrialized democracy, they are a natural flowering of modern journalism. They are the daily printed folk-lore of the factory age.

CHAPTER VIII

THE "BUTTER AND EGG MAN" OF THE NEWS

Advertisers' Influence on a Daily Commodity

I

NOBODY with real news to tell ever lacked an audience. Next to food, clothing and shelter, the tidings of the world and of our community rank with most of us as a prime necessary. Among primitive men the first permanent organization was a courier service. In the days of barter, we may suppose, it was as important and interesting to hear where one could trade a goat skin for a woolen tunic or a spear for a pottery image, as to learn of Tiglath-Pileser's latest conquest; and probably both kinds of news were circulated free.

There has been no change since that day in the essential newsiness of either kind of intelligence. To-day, however, they are distinguished by this difference: that in an industrial society, where most of us have goods or services to sell, the possessor or creator of one kind of news is willing to pay to have his tidings spread around; he becomes an advertiser. Thus in the earliest newspapers there was a distinction, which is maintained to this day, between the kind of news which can be charged for, and the kind which offers no immediate and special pecuniary advantage—or at least professed advantage—

to any individual or business concern. We may say that an advertisement is of more interest to some person or firm than to the general public. Not even now can a line be sharply drawn between the two kinds of news; if this were possible, press agents would not flourish. Not only press agents but advertising agencies relate advertising to the news columns. We find N. W. Ayer & Son buying space to tell us:

In our twenty-five million homes, people read with equal interest the daily news of many famous products that are almost members of the family. Much more than servants, these brands and trade-marks are only a little less than friends. And advertising has not only helped to place them there, but tells continually of their prices, their places of sale, their advantages, their changes. . . . News . . . vital news . . . local news.

"Newsvertising," indeed, is a word coined to express this relation between the two kinds of intelligence. The Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association stands sponsor for it, and explains that its advocates "believe in talking to people in language they understand and on subjects which are live topics at the moment." Such advertising "rides the waves of current news, fads and fancies," in addition to the news value it may possess in itself.

When the price of an automobile is reduced, it is news, but the manufacturer is expected to pay to give it currency; when there is an automobile accident, it is described without charge, and is differently displayed. At first the two kinds of news got along very well to-

YEAR after year, THE TIMES is first in Buffalo, in total Local Display and in Department Store Advertising—the two most accurate registers of newspaper effectiveness.

. . and again, THE TIMES leads in both, for the first 5 months of 1927, with 3,877,103 lines of Local Display or over 40% of the total for all papers and in Department Store Advertising with 1,546,830 lines or over 48% of the total for all papers.

National Advertisers and local merchants must both sell the very same people and, because the local merchants depend upon the response to their daily advertising for the vital success of their business, the National Advertiser will regard their choice of newspapers with favor. In Buffalo, they prefer .

THE BUFFALO TIMES

EVENING
Over 116,000

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

SUNDAY
Over 135,000

VEREE & CONKLIN, Inc.
NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES
NEW YORK CHICAGO DETROIT SAN FRANCISCO

"Newsvertising!" A daily paper ties in with a current fad as part of its ballyhoo of leadership in the local field.

gether, and one hand washed the other; the advertising news paid less than half the expense of gathering and printing the other kind of news, and occupied less than half as much space. The status of advertising was distinctly inferior. It was the servant in the house; the news was the aristocratic guest. They were under the same roof, but the servant knew his place.

II

Now, although all of us are eager for real news, our appetite is capricious and quickly gratified. There applies to the consumption of news what is known in merchandising as the saturation point. Facts are hard to digest; mere facts soon pall upon the palate. That there has been another fire in your city, that another bootlegger has been arrested, that another divorce suit has been filed, does not interest you; it is news, but you prefer something highly spiced. A Manhattan manicure, when she was asked what interested her in the daily papers, replied, "The cases." But what did she mean by cases? "You know," she elaborated; "the Hall-Mills case and the Lindbergh flight and 'Peaches' Browning. Cases like that. Romantic, I call 'em."

Manicures are not a large part of the newspaper-reading public, but this one's taste, to judge by the space and display given to "cases," is representative. Our most substantial and reputable journals deal at great length with just that sort of news. Mere importance or cultural content is of slight moment. The *Christian Science Monitor* gathered figures once on the newspaper space

given to a prize-fight and to concurrent sessions of the National Educational Association and the World Conference on Education. In eight New York papers the space was fourteen to one in favor of the prize-fight; in Chicago the educational conferences got less than two inches, compared with 1,353 for the fight; in Philadelphia the conferences were ignored, and in Washington the ratio was fifty to one. The Boston *Post* was the Abou-ben-Adhem of the press in reporting the event; it gave 398 inches, while the *New York Times,* famed for its generosity in such matters, gave but 340 inches. The *Monitor* beat every one in covering the educational sessions, with 267 inches of space, and it ignored the squared circle; but then the *Monitor* is not amenable to the full influence of certain economic forces which play upon its competitors.

The *Monitor* maintains a frank policy of suppression in regard to news of crime, and it prints no ballyhoo of professional sports. It even suppresses tidings about tobacco, tea and coffee. This is in accordance with certain tenets of the Church of Christ, Scientist, of which the paper is an organ. Its news about prohibition is as candidly favorable to enforcement as the news of most other organs is derisive of enforcement.

Occasionally its policy affects its handling of political news. When Governor Alfred E. Smith's letter on Roman Catholicism was emblazoned on the first page of other newspapers, morning and evening, all day long, the *Monitor* printed it on the first page in its "Pacific" and "Central" editions; thereafter it was shoved over to the

fourth page; in the "Atlantic" edition there was to be found on the first page a retort to it, written by the lawyer whose challenge had provoked the Governor's cogent and outspoken declaration of his religious and political faith. On that day there was no editorial comment. Two days later a news story was printed, quoting a Texas politician, to the effect that no "wet" could be elected President; and another two days later there were two editorials, one to show the strong "dry" sentiment of the United States, the other attacking Tammany's ambition to elect a favorite son to the Presidency. In neither was Governor Smith's name mentioned.

The Chicago *Tribune,* to be sure, went even further. It cut the Governor's statement to four hundred words and ran it inside the paper, without editorial comment. This was due, obviously, to partisan fear.

The *Monitor* operates under a subsidy. Although I share the admiration of most newspaper men for the ability with which its news is edited and its editorial page conducted, none of us believes that if it had to make its way unaided it could play such tricks. It could not tell advertising and circulation to go hang.

III

Advertising rates in the daily press are built primarily upon the quantity, not the quality, of readers. The paper is sold upon the street, and there is no certain and accepted way of calculating the character or social standing of its purchasers. It is not uncommon for a journal with

25,000 circulation to be preferred on an advertiser's list solely because it has a few hundred more readers than its rival. The newspapers have been forced by this unenlightened policy into tricks and artifices which would never have been devised in normal circumstances. They add editions in the hope of picking up a few stray sales, they resort to sensationalism and ballyhoo which they might otherwise refrain from, and at times they have been guilty of actual dishonesty. Of their own accord, for the protection of themselves as well as of their advertisers, they set up an auditing system to prevent the worst practices which had grown up under feverish competition. But no audit bureau can prevent ballyhoo or the exploitation of sex.

A more intelligent attitude on the part of the advertiser would go a long way toward improving his daily media. If he studied newspapers with regard to the kind of news they printed, made due allowance for the dubious character of purchasers attracted by racing odds and the past performances of selling platers, and counted that newspaper which was losing public confidence because of timidity, conformity and subservience as unlikely to inspire confidence in his own announcements, he might get a better return on his investment in space. He complains of constantly increasing prices without taking into account that his own policy had imposed increasing costs on the publisher, in the desperate race for more readers of whatever sort. "This is a jazz-mad, pleasure-craving, gin-grabbing age," one advertising man has said; "we are confronted by an ever-changing mass mind." He

and his fellows seem to think solely of mass, without regard to quality or kind.

Quantity of circulation thus becomes to successful publishers what Jephthah's watch-word was to the Ephraimites; it is their shibboleth in the joyous pursuit of higher milline rates. Even in the last century it was perceived that sensationalism was a "great seller." But on the liveliest day, when a prize-fight or a good murder trial is on the tapis, there is a point at which we will stop reading the tidings of the world, unless our personal interests are specially engaged. Even shocking and scandalous goings-on suffer a rapidly diminishing return in interest. Most men will tell you that they do not devote more than fifteen minutes a day to their newspapers. Probably this is an understatement; let us double the time limit; even thirty minutes is a very short while in which to tire of the news of a world so complex and interesting as ours. For an outlay of two or three cents, what an astonishing spectacle is spread before us! At the nuptials of a Sultan's heir, houris dance for a beggars' feast; in the crowded streets of a city, gunmen murderously raid a bank. Miami and Petrograd, Duluth, Hong Kong, Omaha, Delhi and Detroit, elbow one another in these pages. In twenty-three minutes, news from London flashes into Kansas City. Louis Wiley, business manager of the *New York Times,* tells us that

> New York newspapers printed on Tuesday morning an eye-witness account of events Tuesday afternoon on the Shanghai bund. The news by cable and wireless, travelling East, gained nearly a full day on the sun.

A dictator seizes the rudder of a European ship of state, a wolf suckles and rears two girls in India, an anonymous interview is given out in Washington, and an impartial press so reports to us.

> What is it but a map of busy life,
> Its fluctuations, and its vast concerns!

Cowper exclaimed, more than a century and a half ago.

Why do we tire of it? I have a neighbor who is immensely interested even in the scant comings and goings along our byway; how much more fascinating a window on the whole world! But is your newspaper a window on the world? Is the selection of news impartial? This daily grist of fresh tidings, dealing with royalty and peasantry, with scandals personal and political, with exceptional instances of virtue, with great sorrows and sudden joys, with international events and beauty contests, has a miraculous sweep and variety. It is startling, it is Rabelaisian, it has "the picturesque disorder of a poem." So this is London, that is Peking, here is the world in which we live and move and have our being. Nay, it cannot be! This appearance of variety is illusory, this air of life full-rounded is a snare. The newspaper is a peephole upon the bizarre and shocking and momentous. To astonish and thrill us it reaches into the uttermost corners of the earth, with an appearance of prodigious industry and fertility of resources; yet when we come down to it there is nothing miraculous in its output. Changes are but rung again and again on the old cir-

culation-building themes of sex, religion, conflict, suspense, violence and money.

Nine-tenths of the news arises where it was expected, and where men have been posted to report it; or else it flows quickly through prearranged channels to the press. It must represent some departure from the usual and expected: this is the chief test. The commodity is gathered and graded and prepared for the market like any other. The processes have been standardized, and the men who take part in them, consciously or not are routineers. They are routineers, but the stuff they handle is outside of the routine of life. Their commodity is not the normal, it is the standardized exceptional. This is the touchstone of big circulations. This is the explanation, too, of our tiring quickly of the news; it explains why the courier has donned the cap and bells, in the shape of entertaining "features."

IV

Social philosophers seem to agree that the year 1890 marked the passing of the frontier in this country. At about the same time newspaper advertising assumed its modern form in volume and persuasiveness. Don C. Seitz, former business manager of the *World,* has observed that until the middle of the last century most newspapers farmed out their advertising—so contemptuously did they treat the servant in the house—and that the man who controlled the advertising columns of the New York *Tribune,* made a fortune out of them.

Advertising in the modern sense developed slowly [he

writes]. Even in 1893, when the *World* celebrated the tenth anniversary under Mr. Pulitzer's ownership, the largest department store ad in the columns of the 100-page edition . . . was but three columns.

If we can apply a measuring stick to the newspaper of half a century ago, a quarter of a century ago and the approximate present, we may be able to learn something of the changes which have taken place in its contents, as to news, as to advertising, as to editorials, and as to the cap and bells. For this purpose I take a comparative study of two St. Louis dailies by Orland Kay Armstrong, a graduate student of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri; and a general newspaper study made by Delos F. Wilcox, an expert on franchises and public utilities, which was presented in July, 1900. Mr. Armstrong bases his figures on the St. Louis *Republican* (now defunct) of 1875, and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* a Pulitzer property, of 1925; with some comparisons for the intermediate years. Mr. Wilcox studied newspapers the country over, of all sizes. Both include letters to the editor with editorials under the heading "opinion." They evidently have somewhat different notions about features; but I will select percentages from their tables, and set them down here just as they give them. (It will be noted that Mr. Armstrong's percentages do not total precisely 100.)

	1875	1900	1925
News	55.3	55.3	26.7
Opinion	9.6	7.1	2.2
Features	6.3	5.5	10.4
Advertising	28.9	32.1	60.5

It is a coincidence that Mr. Wilcox and Mr. Armstrong, working on papers a quarter of a century apart, should strike exactly the same percentage for news, in 1875 and in 1900. Mr. Wilcox, I judge, made his study at a time when unusual conditions made for a great spread of urgent news. And it may be that Mr. Wilcox classified as news some material which Mr. Armstrong, with his journalistic training, would have charged to features.

Mr. Armstrong notes the beginnings of modern advertising in the early nineties, with "a tremendous growth from that time on"; marked changes thereafter in the amount of news, features and advertisements; and the slightest growth in the editorials, which, had they expanded in proportion to the advertising, would now cover four or five pages.

The advertisements for the year 1900, [he says] indicate how great progress was being made both in the use of white space and development of appeal. . . . By 1905 advertising had assumed the first definite marks of modern arrangement and appeal. . . . Modern advertising had emerged from the embryonic stage in 1910.

And, in his summary:

This study has pointed out that the most important growth in the business side of newspaper production during the last fifty years has been the development of advertising. How far—and how long—can further development progress? The last five years have seen little progress in the size of advertisements and the amount of money spent on them; the peak had practically been reached in 1920, shortly after the close of the World War. The slump in prices and the slowing up generally in buying may account for the lack of continued expansion of

newspaper advertising since 1920. But the most logical conclusion is that newspaper advertising has had its greatest growth during the last twenty-five years, greater, perhaps, than it will have for half a century farther.

The make-up and subject matter of ads have become a fine art; the last ten years have seen the growth of a profession in which skill and artistic ability are at a premium. It is an important profession in business and industry—the profession of ad-writing. There is no doubt that much progress is yet to be made in the psychology of appeal in advertising. This may mark the greatest development in newspaper advertising during the next fifty years.

Journalistic growth, Mr. Armstrong notes, has been along other lines than news. The advertisements have more than doubled in ratio, and are of tenfold volume. Fifty years ago more than half the space was given to news; now only about one-fourth. The space devoted to features has increased, and there has been a radical change in the character of the features; more than one-third of the space devoted to reading matter goes for this form of entertainment. The *Republican* of 1875 carried less than 75 inches of features; the *Post-Dispatch* of 1925 carried 648. And it is a different kind of stuff.

Feature matter of 1875, [says Mr. Armstrong] would rarely be recognized as such to-day. It dealt for the most part with "curious events," as the accounts were sometimes labelled; the weird, the fantastic, and sometimes the horrific; the "almanac" type of the unusual.

Feature matter to-day bears a closer relation to timely news; in fact, much feature matter is as timely as news. . . . Little progress toward the modern type of feature matter was made until about 1890. Between that year

and 1900 feature writing, with pen-and-ink drawings and photo-illustrations, took rapid strides forward.

Features, that is to say, changed and grew concurrently with advertising.

As to changes in the character of news over the last half century I must summarize certain percentages:

	1875	1900	1925
Sports	1.7	5.1	25.4
Business	26.9	8.2*	20
Crime	4.9	3.1	10.7

** Mr. Wilcox apparently did not classify the market pages as business news.*

Fifty years ago crime occupied but 32 inches in the St. Louis *Republican;* to-day it holds an average of 161.3 inches in the *Post-Dispatch;* double the ratio and quintuple the space. The volume and display of this kind of material is a tender subject with newspaper editors. They extenuate it on the ground that it acts as a deterrent of crime. A questionnaire circulated among the inmates of the Elmira Reformatory in New York showed, quite to the contrary, that sixty attributed their downfall to the alluring and romantic pictures of criminal life presented by the press.

Newspapers are channels of suggestion; editors realize this when they conspire to suppress information about libel suits, and when by common consent they agree never to mention a threat against the life of the President. If the publication of crime news acted as a deterrent, a lot of it should be printed; but Herbert Bayard Swope,

"executive" editor of the *World,* once said that crime news ranked fifth in that paper. On the day the speech was reported (incompletely) I measured the *World* and found business news first (counting as news the pages devoted to market reports, and printed partly to attract financial advertising); sports second (counting as news all the balderdash printed on the sport pages); politics third (an unusual circumstance, due to the fact that a political campaign was at its height); and crime, usually third in these columns, relegated to fourth place; not fifth, apparently. But on consulting a fuller report of Swope's speech I found that he had reached his result by inventing a category of news original with him: "the humanities." This included, so he explained, art, editorials, and so on. Presumably it included F. P. A.'s column, the comic strips and similar features. Thus at last "the humanities," long a phrase peculiar to the academic vocabulary, is expropriated as a stage property of journalese.

The fact about crime news, of course, is that it builds circulation, and affords opportunities for the sob-sisters and sob-brothers of the diurnal press. So far as that goes, the value of sob-stuff is recognized by newspaper advertisers, who have learned what appetites the press stimulates. In Mrs. Helen Woodward's book, "Through Many Windows," she tells of her career as a copy-writer, and reports this speech by a member of the Presbrey Advertising Agency:

"As for this baby-food stuff," he said, "for God's sake put some sob-stuff in it. You know. And make it beautiful, too. Make it beautiful, make the words sing.

Heavens! There isn't a woman in the world who cares about facts. . . . Tears! Make 'em weep.

"But be careful, my client wants us to be honest in this thing. Tell 'em always to go to a doctor if they can and get a special prescription for their own baby. If they can't do that, tell 'em how bad the milk supply is in lots of places, and that they better use this food. And give 'em the figures about the baby death rate—but don't say it flatly. You know if you just put a lot of figures in front of a woman, she passes you by. If we only had the nerve to put a hearse in the ad, you couldn't keep the women away from the food."

Tears and sweat and blood: of these the ink is made to print our daily newspapers. What wonder that we need a comic relief in the doings of The Gumps!

V

One hand still washes another in the newspaper, but the advertising hand, we have seen, has grown to twice its former size, while the news hand has shrunk proportionately. Let us see about their contributions to the newspaper budget. In 1880 the journalistic revenue from advertising, according to the United States Census, was less than forty millions, while from the sale of the papers it was more than fifty millions. The next decade witnessed an enormous growth in the press. The number of daily papers increased by more than three-fourths, and the aggregate number of copies distributed in a year swelled from two billions to four and a half. Meanwhile the revenue from advertising, now about to come into its own, climbed from forty to seventy-one millions; from

the sale of the paper, from fifty to seventy-two millions. This was the last year there was to be a semblance of equality between them. Between 1914 and 1919 (still using Census figures) the number of daily newspapers fell off nearly ten per cent, the circulation increased by more than one-fifth; the advertising revenue increased 121 per cent, to $402,760,301, while the revenue from sales of the papers, although it increased 105 per cent, totaled but $204,958,214. Advertising, that is, was paying nearly two-thirds of the bills.

Prior to the World War, among metropolitan newspapers the country over, the space given to advertising compared with reading matter as two with three. During the war the two were on a fifty-fifty space basis. But in 1920 the reader, now regarded mainly in his capacity as a purchaser, was getting only two columns of reading matter with three of advertising; and in 1926, in some large evening papers, a 70-30 basis became not uncommon, while on prosperous Fridays there were four columns of advertising to every column of reading matter:—news, editorials, fiction, features and all. S. P. Weston, an authority on the fiscal affairs of the daily press, says that this process has reached its limit. Newspaper publishers must devise a new schedule.

The affairs of the individual publication, showing sources of revenue and outgo, are not a matter of common knowledge, as a rule. Our great newspapers are closely held, and are reticent about their finances. Figures are obtainable, however, on two New York newspapers of widely different character, and they may help us to an

understanding of this side of journalism. One set deals with Hearst's *Evening Journal,* the other with Ochs's *Times.* Lest statistics grow wearisome, I shall set them down here in round numbers:

The latest period for which the *Journal's* expenses are available is the ten months ending October 31, 1925; and for the *Times,* the fiscal year ending with August, 1925. The *Journal's* outgo for news expenses was $1,050,000; for mechanical production, $1,747,000; for ink and white paper, $4,000,000; for distribution, $1,300,000; for promotion, $1,000,000; for administration, $700,000; a total of nearly ten millions. The *Times* paid about $7,000,000 each for its payroll and for its white paper; more than $200,000 for ink alone; half a million for telegraph and cable tolls, more than $800,000 each to the Postoffice Department and for taxes.

In that year the *Times* paid a million dollars in dividends, which was equal to the sum at which Ochs capitalized it when he took it over thirty years before. There have been two stock dividends of eight per cent preferred, however, which bring the present capitalization to ten millions. The *Journal's* dividends are not divulged, but the statement is made that its net profit for the ten months was $1,295,878.

Let us see, now, whence came the revenue to pay these expenses and roll up these profits. The *Journal,* with a circulation of 640,000, took in nearly four millions from the sale of the paper, in ten months, and more than seven millions from advertising. That is to say, advertising constituted about sixty-four per cent of its income. The

Times, with a circulation of nearly 400,000, took in from sales of the paper about $3,250,000, and from advertising about $22,500,000. More than eighty-seven per cent of its revenue was from advertising. The gross sales of the *Journal* paid for the white paper on which it was printed, and nearly paid the ink bill as well; whereas the gross sales of the *Times* paid less than half the cost of white paper alone.

Ochs has formulated a definite policy which will throw some light on the status of the advertiser as the "butter-and-egg man," in theatrical parlance, of the news comedy-drama. He says that an established newspaper

is entitled to fix its advertising rates so that its net receipts from circulation shall be left on the credit side of the profit and loss account. To arrive at net receipts, I would deduct from the gross the cost of promotion, distribution, and other expenses incidental to circulation.

The advertiser, then, is expected to pay all the costs of news-gathering, all the costs of white paper, all the costs of other raw material, all the costs of production and all the costs of administration. At what rate must the advertising be set, if the publisher is to pocket the net profits from the sale of the paper? Again I turn to a published utterance by the owner of the *Times:*

I have a theory, [he says] that the basic rate should be one cent a line per thousand of circulation in a publication where the advertising columns are given the consideration to which they are entitled, and the advertising placed to the best advantage for results with regard to the publication's good reputation and the reader's interest.

. . . Advertising that cannot pay one cent a line per thousand of circulation is hardly worth doing.

Department stores, which are the chief newspaper advertisers, are showing signs of revolt from such rates. They are manifesting some doubt as to whether the extremely ephemeral newspaper, often thrown away in the street car, subway or elevated train, is worth much as a medium. Publishers are disquieted at the prevalence of shopping news dodgers, prepared by these stores for free distribution in competition with newspapers. In Cleveland the "Shopping News" has reached such proportions that it is published from its own efficient plant.

In London the revolt has been apparent among the realty advertisers, who support Dalton's *Weekly House and Apartment Advertiser.* This, although it contains no news, sells at two pence (about four cents) and has a wide circulation. One issue contained about 1,500 advertisements, nine-tenths of them classified. One insertion of twenty words or less costs about thirty-five cents.

It may be as well to pause a moment and see what kind of advertising the newspapers get, and in what proportion. *Editor and Publisher,* an extremely competent journal, has analyzed the figures (which it puts above 600 millions) for 1923. I will set down the main items in millions of dollars:

Department stores, 161; amusements, 20; automobiles, 34; cosmetics and druggists' sundries, 17.5; jewelry, 20; musical instruments, 10; radio, 5; travel and resorts, 26; tobacco, 4.2; realty, 45; building materials, 2; financial

30; foodstuffs, 17; furniture, 30; specialty shops, 41; men's clothes, 5.7; wants, 40; churches and charities, 6.2; publishers, 12; miscellaneous, 80.

It is worthy of note that four times as much newspaper advertising is directed at women as at men. Women spend all a man's money, so Dorothy Dix says, except what he spends on his vices.

One-tenth the total advertising revenue is reaped by New York newspapers. But not all the advertising we are discussing is news. Announcements of a firm or a trade-mark, without prices, can hardly be so classified. Certain jewelry shops, banks, banking houses and brokers buy space for what may be termed billboard or poster advertising. "The time may come," says Ochs, "when we will not have room in the *Times* for poster advertising. . . . [It] may be good for the advertisers, but it is of little value, except for income, to the news attractiveness of a newspaper."

If ever the publishers screw their courage up to that sticking point, the reader will heave a sigh of relief, for his burden will be lightened. He buys a newspaper for the news; the advertiser buys space in it for the reader's attention, his influence, his purchasing power.

The race for newspaper circulation, as we have seen, is a race for higher milline advertising rates. That astute newspaper manager, Jason Rogers, observes that it is much easier to build large circulations by printing features than by piling up news. The comics, he says, have been rather overdone. He thinks the Chicago *Daily News* "Evening Story" the best feature he knows,

but various contests have his approval. When he was business manager of the New York *Globe* (before it met its death at the hands of Frank A. Munsey), he set aside a page for school news, and thus attracted 20,000 school-teacher readers, "with $40,000,000 a year in salaries." The business manager thinks of readers thus, in terms of their purchasing power.

Some publishers think that not more than half the newspaper's space should be given to advertising, but Rogers believes in a different method, a fixed standard, say, of sixty columns of "reading matter," including news, editorials, features, sports, markets, fiction and so on; "and let the paper run as large as the ads will make it."

VI

Meanwhile the general character of advertising has improved. It has improved while the general character of the news, as we have seen, has deteriorated. Fake medical advertisements have almost, but not quite, disappeared from the daily press. Powerful organizations demand truth in advertising, but there is no corresponding organized demand for truth in news. Reputable journals in many instances give a money guarantee of the good faith of their advertisers, but they give no guarantee that their news is the cleanest and the most valuable they can purchase and distribute. They are engaged in a double-barrelled merchandising activity: they are selling their papers on the strength of the news in them, and they are selling space (on the strength of

our interest in news) wherein their advertisers cry a million wares. It is safe to say, I think, that the second function has influenced the American public more profoundly than news and editorials together.

There has been a great deal of discussion of the influence of the individual advertiser over a newspaper with which he spends his money, and some writers have been at pains to gather particular instances of the suppression of news at the behest of commercial patrons. I think that such instances are rare. The newspaper publisher can much better afford to alienate an individual advertiser than risk losing circulation by being caught accommodating him. In a long experience, reportorial and editorial, dating back to the beginning of this century, I have known but two stories to be suppressed. One was a scandal involving a clergyman, who was friendly with the publisher of a paper I worked for; and the other was a campaign artifice employed by a politician who was a great friend of the owner of a paper. I knew personally of these instances. Neither story was suppressed for long. The clergyman's conduct ultimately brought his public ruin and disgrace; the politician's opponent contested the election, and the campaign trickery was brought out fully at a public hearing, which all the papers in that city reported. I never knew an individual advertiser to cause the suppression or distortion of news.

But it is obvious that a newspaper publisher who derives seven-eighths of his revenue, or even two-thirds of it, from advertisers, cannot ignore the interests of advertisers as a class. If they think the Philippines offer

a valuable market and a site for rubber plantations, for instance, then it is easy to see how news about the demand for Philippine independence might not get quite a fair showing in the press. The advertiser favors that optimistic spirit which induces spending; he resents the statement of facts about unsocial industrial conditions, about insanitary conditions of labor and living; and about slumps in business. In the Fall of 1926 newspaper advertising began falling off, a fairly dependable sign that a business recession had begun. To this other symptoms were added, such as the classified columns, which showed that more and more luxuries bought on the installment plan were being sold second-hand, because of failure to meet payments; lessened production of automobiles, decreased building, and so on, affecting related industries. The newspapers, if for no other reason than the continuing failure to advertise so freely as before, must have been aware of what was happening. The facts were apparent to the practised eye. In scores of Wall Street offices plans were made to meet a depression, and Big Business drew in its horns.

Yet in the daily press we found nothing but sanguine interviews with captains of industry. The mass of newspaper readers were not forewarned, for they had not been taught to read such obscure signs as were available, and they went ahead cheerfully spending what they had, instead of putting something aside for a "rainy day."

VII

Like the reporter, the advertising copy-writer has his stock phrases and pet clichés. Shudders are no more popular in accounts of murder trials than the word "newest" in advertisements. Allen Sinsheimer, in a study of two thousand announcements of clothes for men and boys, found that three-fifths of them used this word, and set down his discoveries in a book for the trade. More than half of the advertisements described the goods or sale as astonishing, celebrated, distinctive, enormous, extraordinary, immense, incomparable, matchless, phenomenal, sensational, spectacular, or wonderful—one or more of these. Nearly half used the word "vast," nearly one-third the word "value," nearly one-fourth the word "quality," nearly one-fifth the word "exclusive," and about one-sixth the word "smart."

Thus, although advertising men have dedicated themselves somewhat blatantly to the truth, there is about their communiqués a singular flavor of hyperbole. We have a modern industrial mythology. If one were to read the description of a certain automobile, and to read of no other, would he not come to the conclusion that this was the very best automobile in the world? A manufacturer who declared publicly that his machine, which was of medium price, was not so good as another of higher price, but the best in its class, set up a stir of astonishment in the trade. This was indeed a new symbolism! The Federal Trade Commission itself has lent countenance to mild romanticism. When the maker

of a certain brand of mattresses was cited because his advertisements indicated more felt than could possibly be squeezed into his commodity, the commission upheld him. Ballyhoo within limits is permissible. Presumably it is permissible, therefore, to assert that a certain medicated bread will "make your individuality magnetic." This appeared in a newspaper which asserts that it censors its advertisements rigorously.

Known as "the sword arm of business," advertising is to-day the most important factor in commodity salesmanship. It has its place in the dissemination of useful information and in such cases is a kind of news, as I have said; but comparatively little advertising is fully informative. Its character is revealed in "Your Money's Worth," by Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink. Thanks to advertising, a penny's worth of germicidal value in a nationally known antiseptic is marketed for $95; flimsy wood is sold as good furniture, and six-dollar shoes are sold at twelve dollars. The authors quote (but not as accurate) an advertising circular as saying that only one-fourth of this country's business is on "natural demand," the remainder being the result of salesmanship; and another circular as saying that, to be effective, advertising must "get out before the beloved customer and shout, search, halloo, promise, concede, coax, be funny, coo, thump, seek, knock and punch." The merchandiser of manufactured commodities uses methods quite similar to the merchandiser of news.

The saying one hears everywhere, that "you can't believe what you read in the newspapers," is an indica-

tion of widespread distrust and suspicion. Clearly the more than "gentle pressure on words" in advertising, and the influence of the advertiser over the news columns, is setting up its own antibody. Yet other factors are at work, such as slovenliness in reporting, the prevalence of free publicity, editorial sail-trimming and conformity. Of course no one really means that you can't believe *anything* in the papers. Many of the advertisements can be believed, and most of the news is credible enough, when it does not involve the established order. Readers exaggerate minor misstatements in stories of which they have personal knowledge, and distrust the emphasis placed on tax reduction, commercial success, the policy of imperialism, militarism, and other topics in which they surmise that the publishers or large classes of advertisers may be peculiarly interested. Possibly they look askance, too, on news ballyhoo, and shrewdly guess that its purpose is to exploit them. Its purpose cannot long be disguised.

As for advertising ballyhoo, it goes forth naked into the world, to be admired by all, including the President. "It informs the readers," Mr. Coolidge says, "of the existence and nature of commodities by explaining the advantages to be derived from their use, and creates for them a wider demand. It is the most potent influence in adopting [adapting?] and changing the habits and modes of life, affecting what we eat, what we wear, and the work and play of the whole nation." And again: "It is not enough that the goods are made; a demand for them must also be made."

No advertising expert could have put the case more persuasively to a prospective client. And it must be said that Mr. Coolidge has hardly exaggerated the influence of this ballyhoo on American life and manners. It is a more potent influence to-day than news itself. It preys upon fear, envy, pride, acquisitiveness. It combines threats with cajolery. We must avoid halitosis and pyorrhea as a plague, and we *must* keep up with the Joneses.

Through the stimulation and creation of wants, the American people's standard of living has been raised. When the purse could no longer stand the strain, the installment plan was devised, and we were invited to buy luxuries on time payments. The butter and egg man of the news has grown richer and tonier, while the newspaper reader has grown poorer in relation to his new wants, and has mortgaged his future in an effort to gratify them. The public's taste for manufactured commodities has been widened by advertising. Its literary taste has been debased and narrowed as a result of the advertisers' demand for bigger but not better circulation. Formerly we worried along with almost no intelligence of sport stars and master minds in crime; now we have a saturnalia of gunmen, divorcées and boxers. There is a *noblesse oblige* between the press and Big Business. The newspaper editor may hark back with pride to the Palladium of Liberty, but that palladium is crumbling. He has sold his birthright for a mess of advertising.

CHAPTER IX

"FOR THE PREVENTION OF READING"

The Sunday Paper's Influence in American Life

I

BEFORE me as I write there lie stacked majestically last Sunday's New York papers. In the aggregate, although one is a tabloid, they tip the scales at more than twelve pounds. The total issue of but one of them involves stripping the spruce, fir and hemlock from ninety acres of forest. Had I ordered a copy of each paper issued that day in the United States, more than half a ton of newsprint would have been dumped on my doorstep; to buy all of them, the public spent about one and a half million dollars. I dare not calculate how much of the nation's time was spent in reading them.

Twenty years ago, writing in the *Nineteenth Century and After,* Frank Foxcroft said that of all American prodigies the Sunday paper was the most prodigious, and recorded with astonishment that a single issue comprised a round hundred pages. To-day I put forth my hand and heft an issue of two hundred pages, weighing three pounds; I have seen one which weighed more than four! Mr. Foxcroft noted that forty-six of his hundred pages were devoted to advertising. Since his day the percent-

age has risen from forty-six to about sixty-six. As for the live news, its percentage is comparable to the percentage of alcohol in near beer.

But if only two-thirds, or thereabout, of the corpulent array in front of me is given over to advertising, and only a negligible part to "spot" news, what sort of material is utilized to fill the remainder of the paper? And why did the issue assume this bloated aspect? What are the social and economic factors back of its vast bulk? Is this sabbatic competitor of the pulpit, the radio receiving set and the automobile destined to an even greater growth? And what sort of intellectual stimulus does it afford to the literate mind?

II

These columns are as conglomerate as a pharmacy. Although a drug store exists primarily for the sale of drugs, one may find there also kodaks, hot-water bags, sandwiches, cosmetics, fiction, fountain pens, phonograph records and peach melbas. And in the Sunday paper, which exists primarily to vend news, one may find also faddist puzzles, fashion notes, Red Magic, discussions of primitive and modern love, pulse-stirring descriptions of sham battles, army camps and battleships, "literary" gossip, recipes for the kitchen, model houses, comics, puffs for suburban realty promotions, beauty hints, musical comment, information on how to use depilatories, astrology and palmistry, art notes and pictures of bathing beauties. Clark McAdams, a teacher of journalism and a newspaper columnist, once said to a gathering of editors:

To-day we purvey news—also radio sets, hobby horses, insurance, roller coasters, little red wagons, dump wagons, clog dancing, violin solos, saxophony, symphony music, grand opera. We will plan you a house, we will tell you a bedtime story and rock you to sleep. We run newspaper factories. We make rat traps, house furnishings, toys, blocks, cutouts, puzzles. One man gave every buyer of his paper a lamp to read it by. We have out-Woolworthed Woolworth. We have given the world the two-cent store.

Mr. McAdams was talking about "feature stuff," and had in mind the daily as well as the Sunday paper. It was the demand of the Sunday paper which brought to its fine flower this type of material. The Sunday market is the chief support of the hundred syndicates which make possible its marvellous bulk and variety. There are more than two thousand features, more than one-third of them signed, some by popular and eminent authors. Among contributors, for instance, to the Hearst Sunday sections, may be counted the former Emperor of Germany, David Lloyd George, Senator Reed Smoot, Gabriele d'Annunzio, Guglielmo Ferrero, Rupert Hughes and Kathleen Norris.

Short stories and serial fiction contain the qualities which are prized in news, the characteristics which have set the pattern of selection for those columns, with this difference: that in fiction the sex interest is more guardedly handled than in the news. The beautiful manicure never quite goes wrong, although she ventures to the very brink. These stories are as innocuous as anything to be found in the *Saturday Evening Post,* and are constructed

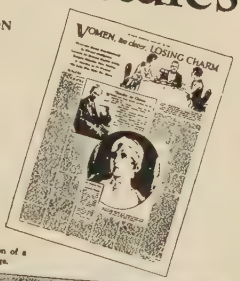
We do have "FEATURES"

Complete news in the Herald Tribune is salted with the wit and wisdom of as brilliant a company of feature stars as were ever gathered by a newspaper. These include:

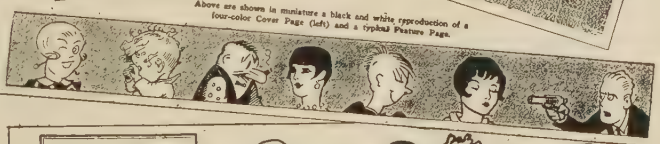
Ledger Syndicate Features

STIMULATE CIRCULATION
ATTRACT ADVERTISING
MAINTAIN PRESTIGE

The Public Ledger Magazine Page Service consists of eleven pages: A Cover Page in four colors; eight Miscellaneous Feature Pages devoted principally to personalities; a Fiction Page carrying a complete short story by a celebrated author, and Frank Godwin's weekly, page-size human interest symposium, "VIGNETTES OF LIFE," in pen and ink.



Above are shown in miniature a black and white reproduction of a four-color Cover Page (left) and a typical Feature Page.



CHICAGO TRIBUNE
NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE

features

COMICS

Ching Chow	daily
Dear Family	daily
Gasoline Alley	D&S
Gasoline	D&S
Moon Mullins	D&S
Orphan Annie	D&S
Harold Teen	D&S
Tome Sire	Sunday
Winnie Winkle	D&S
The Squire of Smithville	daily
"Ahoh Broadway"	daily

CARTOONS

W. E. Hill	Sunday
McCutcheon	D&S

The WORLD'S GREATEST 7 RING COMIC CIRCUS!

CHICAGO TRIBUNE comics make a 7-ring circus unequaled by any on earth! . . . Something different happening in each ring!

Features! Newspapers sell their daily and Sunday comics, cartoons, comment, "colyums" and fiction; herewith are samples of their advertisements in Editor and Publisher.

as strictly, although often less skillfully, in accordance with a formula. Mystery and adventure are laid on thick. From a serial advertisement to the trade I lift almost at random:

Something new in original newspaper fiction. A stirring romance with a South American setting. . . . A mysterious murder plot. . . . A beautiful American girl. . . . A strange man, one of the greatest detective characters since Sherlock Holmes. . . . Red-blooded adventure.

The syndicates sell everything from a two-line filler at the bottom of a column to a twenty-two-page magazine section or rotogravure supplements ready printed. They will give advice to the lovelorn or advice to the married. They will supply the menu for a Sunday breakfast or a bridge club lunch. There are reams of "special" stuff about the latest idol, and there is other timely material. The Chicago *Tribune* advertises the comics it syndicates to other newspapers (among more than half a hundred features) as "a seven-ring circus." The phrase applies quite accurately to the whole sabbatic library. Even the staid Associated Press, which did more than any other agency to bring colorless reporting to American newspapers, has now entered the feature fold, with "color stories" on grand opera, Fifth Avenue fashion parades, interviews with sport celebrities, new inventions and wonders of the firmament to declare its glory.

Adolph S. Ochs, whose Sunday *Times* prints a greater volume of feature matter than any other paper I know of, but does not print comics nor cross-word puzzles

nor a Red Magic section (which last, we are assured, "will provide . . . as much mental stimulus as a day in school"), derides the characteristics of these space-fillers. "Some day," he has asserted, "I intend to deliver an address in vindication of the newspaper reader, and show that he is not wholly responsible for the vulgar, sensational, vapid publications that make an appeal to the mindless." And Tom Finty, Jr., editor of the Dallas *Journal,* says that newspapers are "lisping baby talk to their readers when they might talk sense to advantage"; while James M. Thompson, publisher of the New Orleans *Item* and *Morning Tribune,* laments the "deplorable" subordination of news "in order to give preference to features."

So far as the Sunday paper is concerned, this deplorable subordination must continue, as we shall see. Nor will the newspaper reader be vindicated if mass circulation remains the be-all and the end-all of the publisher's ambition.

III

What we know as yellow journalism was baptized and christened at the altar of the Sunday paper. When William Randolph Hearst was raiding Joseph Pulitzer's offices in the late nineties, one of the employés he took away was R. F. Outcault, with his comic serial, "Hogan's Alley." Pulitzer made good the loss by adding to his staff George Luks, who was instructed to draw a similar series, under the same title, and by all means to include in it the juvenile character known, on account of his attire,

as the Yellow Kid. Don C. Seitz, who notes that the phrase, "yellow journalism," had its origin in the concurrent rivalry between the Kids, takes credit to himself, in his biography of Pulitzer, for the idea of the colored comic supplement. "I had often noted the popular craving for excitement," he says, "the almost pathetic desire to see something funny, and I urged that the color presses be set to producing the 'comic' sheet. . . . The immediate effect was to send the paper from the quarter million class, where it had long lodged, into the half million, where it has since remained." This happy gain was his, but Arthur Brisbane was the "idea man" of the Sunday *World* in those days, and "ideas" spread from the comic section through the whole paper. Let the biographer continue:

Unhappily the extension of "ideas" to the news offended the conservative reader who, before, could throw away the magazine section, but was helpless against the flood of freaks. There was a royal struggle between Morril Goddard, the "idea" editor of the Sunday *Journal* [then Hearst's morning paper in New York] and a *World* graduate, and the Brisbane forces. This led to such an overdoing that the contest was seized upon by the *Sun* and *Post,* followed by "conservative" papers elsewhere, amazed at the astonishing growth of both *World* and *Journal,* until a threatening wave of hostility was engendered. Clubhouse committees excluded both papers from their libraries and Sunday School workers enlisted for their extirpation. All the hullabaloo did not check circulation, which kept mounting, but the effect on Mr. Pulitzer was severe. As soon as he realized the size of the disturbance he . . . demanded to know how his paper could have been so degraded, and who did it. . . .

The "ideas" disappeared, and with them much of the circulation. That it was made up later on sounder and better lines is no special vindication of the reading public of the day. The *Journal* did not reform and survived the shock without loss of sleep or sales.

Some Sunday papers print as many as eight pages, partly in colors, of these "gaudy atrocities," as Mr. Foxcroft called them. Once upon a time a Los Angeles school teacher, finding that the language lettered upon these pages was corrupting the speech of the nation's children, journeyed to New York City to see whether she could interest editors in certain changes. She did not ask much, merely the forbidding of "I ain't," "you was," "I seen," "I done," and "I ain't gonna do nothin'." To eliminate these idiosyncrasies, one might suppose, would not greatly cramp the style of the comics. But one editor, famed as a reformer in other fields, told the visitor that "newspapers are in business for business, not for uplift": a statement she found difficult to reconcile with his editorials; and another asked her why she wanted to impose on others her notions about language. Her transcontinental journey was in vain. It is still funny, presumably, to say "I ain't gonna do nothin'" in the comic sections.

IV

The subordination of news in the Sunday paper, so long as its present bulk is maintained, is physically inescapable. In its first appearances, to be sure, the Sunday edition of the daily journal was still a *news*paper, for it

was brought out in emergencies. During the Civil War, when a great battle was in progress, or a crisis at Washington made waiting from Saturday to Monday well-nigh intolerable, special Sabbath issues of the papers were produced. The New York *Herald* was the first to issue such an edition regularly, in 1872, and was soon imitated by other newspapers. The elder Bennett was usually in the vanguard, and chiefly by his initiative won his high reputation among newspaper men. But the Sunday edition, even then, consisted of a news section with a four-page illustrated wrapper, a sort of highly-figured Mother Hubbard. The wrapper contained "almanac" features of the bizarre and terrible. Not until rapid mechanical appliances, cheap paper, inexpensive reproduction of photographs and a flood of advertising united in the last decade of the century did the present Sunday paper have its true beginnings.

The clergy, scenting rivalry perhaps, sincerely concerned perhaps about the manner in which the public spent its time, roundly berated the Sunday paper from the first. As time went on this opposition became less severe. It was easy enough to see that church attendance and membership were on the increase, and were not being affected adversely by the reading matter specially provided on the Lord's day. The membership between 1891 and 1927 increased by 130 per cent while the population was increasing only 80 per cent. In 1850, hardly one person in six was a church member; in 1896, the number was one in three. These facts may have had their effect in blunting the edge of clerical criticism.

In the nineties it was seen that the Sunday paper must be made to help pay the way of the week-day morning issues. It must carry about half the total load of costs, that is to say. When we know why this is so, we will understand the Gargantuan size of the pile in front of me.

The morning newspaper, a superior vehicle of news, is rated an inferior vehicle of advertising. We have three times as many afternoon papers. Some afternoon papers get out Sunday editions, but astute observers assert that only a few of these are economically sound. Most of them siphon advertising away from the Saturday edition, and are really liabilities, if their publishers but knew the truth.

While the multiple editions of the afternoon paper are being put to press (I have seen them no more than forty minutes apart), nearly all the things are being done which are to be chronicled in the press. Except in cases where special preparations are possible, the news printed in them is mainly in bulletin form, and is subject to the inaccuracies which arise from an imperative desire to get there first. Speed is the important thing. Each succeeding edition "kills" its predecessor; and yet, popping from the griddle while the fire is still kindled beneath it, these sheets have an appeal in the panting eagerness with which they are rushed to the reader. They give an ingenious "to-day" twist to what they print. Yesterday has no place in their bright lexicon. They are as close to the news as nineteen is to twenty. They are more up-to-the-minute than wriggling tadpoles.

The morning paper is likely to be more dependable. It has leisure to get at the facts, and it has more time to get to its readers. It need not, like the afternoon edition, be sold near the point of publication; it has several hours between its latest edition and breakfast time, and its circulation spreads over a wider area. It has better opportunity to verify its facts, and more time in which to put into type a complete story. Yet the very diffusion of its readers counts against it with the advertiser, who prefers, in most instances, to know that those who hear his ballyhoo are within easy reach of his shop, or a shop where his commodity is sold.

There is the further fact that the morning paper is read hastily, on the way to work, and is likely to be discarded (the advertisements unread) in street car, subway or elevated train. The theory is that the afternoon edition is taken home, to be perused there without haste. That is why it is called the "evening" paper. A typical "house" advertisement says:

Ninety-seven per cent of the *Sun's* readers live in the New York Market. Eighty-two per cent of its circulation is distributed after three o'clock in the afternoon when New Yorkers begin to go home with their newspapers.

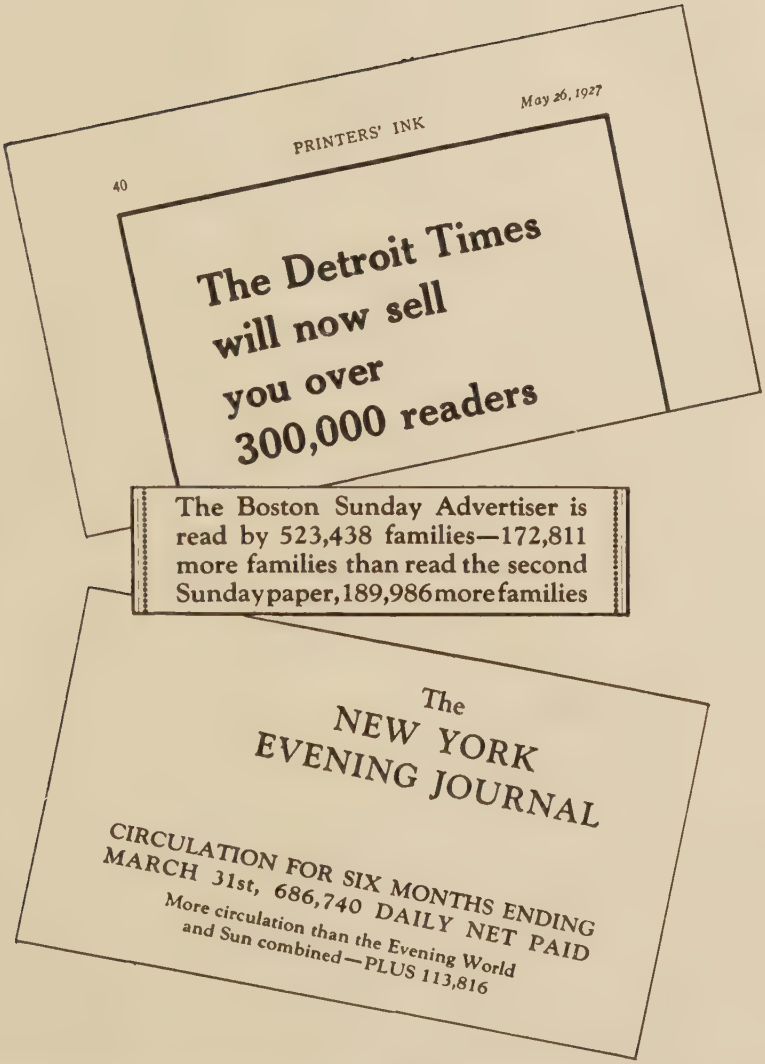
And because the *Sun* is read leisurely—in the evening on the way home and in the home—each advertisement in the *Sun* has unusually strong attention value. The readers of the *Sun* have plenty of time to read all the news and all the advertisements that interest them.

Presumably the afternoon paper is read by the women of the family, who buy seven-tenths of the manufactured

commodities sold in this country. The advertiser curries their favor, unless he deals in haberdashery, sporting goods or stocks and bonds. Half a dozen of the morning newspapers in the United States have overcome this prejudice against them on the part of the local retail advertiser, and especially on the part of the department store owner, who is the biggest single contributor to the revenue of the daily press. But the number is still too small to be accepted as indicating a trend. The average milline rate (cost per agate line per million of circulation) of the whole press at the beginning of 1927 was as follows: Afternoon papers, $3.35; morning papers, $2.57; Sunday papers, $2.33. In other words, the less dependable and less efficient gatherers of news are favored by the advertiser, who contributes three-fourths of the revenue of the press. To the advertiser the reader is an energized pocket-book. He has purchasing power. He has "attention value," else the advertisement has no value. He is suggestible, particularly after a hearty dinner, when relaxed in the easy chair at home.

But the morning paper has its inning on the Sabbath, when it goes into the home instead of into rapid transit. The publisher is hopeful that it will be read now; he can be almost certain it will be read if the automobile has a flat and the radio is full of static. The advertisers' belief that the Sunday paper gets itself read explains why it has been forced to pay about half the expenses of the week-day issues. It could do this, of course, only by gathering unto itself an immense volume of advertising.

The advertiser, however, demands that there shall be



"The reader is an energized pocketbook" to the newspaper publisher, and is sold on that basis to the advertiser.

a certain bulk of reading matter in proportion to his announcements. He doesn't seem to care, fortunately, whether it is news; for to print these obese issues on a Saturday night would mean a load greater than the presses could carry. Only the news section can be printed then; and the stream of news must run thin, owing to the pressure of late advertising on the columns. Whole sections must be printed far ahead. Some are printed, as a fact, eight or ten days prior to the date of publication. A perishable commodity like news is out of the picture, so far as their content is concerned. Therefore the "feature" was developed, expanded and variegated. Therefore new sections, designed to attract advertising rather than please the general reader, were devised.

V

The pages or section devoted to book reviews would not be found in the Sunday paper were they not a magnet for advertising. Of the five persons interested in each review, only the newspaper reader is without a financial stake in it. The book publisher, the author, the newspaper publisher and the reviewer all stand to profit or lose by it. "Publishers who place their selling messages in this section," says the Chicago *Daily News,* "will be assured of the attention of the great Chicago reading public." The publisher, quite humanly desirous of the largest possible sales, announces each new book as though it were a masterpiece and the last of its kind. "The novelist may know that his little volume will not compare favorably with the classics," says the *New York Times.*

which lays claim to more book and periodical advertising than any other publication in the world, "but he can hardly contradict the man who tries to sell it for him." Nor, it appears, does the newspaper publisher attempt to curb the book publisher's extravagance. Thus the advertising, which may run as high as three-fourths of the section's space, depending on the season and the prosperity of the paper, manifests a dead level of hyperbole.

The book publisher who thinks that a fanfare of advertising will sell his wares is likely to think that favorable reviews will sell them too. There is some reason to believe he may be wrong in both suppositions. For the Sunday supplement outgiving remains on the old plane. It is not criticism. It is a sort of special article, treating the book as a news happening, not as literature, nor as an attempt at literature.

We need not concern ourselves with the sort of book reviews which afford an opportunity for back-scratching or face-scratching, written by the "ins" and "outs" of writers' cliques. These usually carry in the context the stigma of their origin. It is of more consequence to consider the character of a supplement designed primarily for the advertiser, and lastly for the reader of books. I do not mean to say that an unfavorable review is never to be found in a Sunday section; I do mean to say that the tendency is to overpraise. The editor of the section is likely to confine his attentions to the output of publishers who advertise in his newspaper, and the publishers are likely to discontinue their advertising if their output gets an even-handed justice. The reviewer does not need to

be told that lenience is the better part of criticism, and that mercy droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven. He has sense enough to know that if what he writes is too often unfavorable his services will be deemed dispensable. Ill-paid as he is, he bears this silently in mind.

In the campaign for "truth in advertising" the argument is often advanced that readers will have greater confidence in the news columns of a paper which holds its advertisers to strict account. The argument applies with special force to the book section. No discriminating reader can put much faith in any part of its pages, and the consequence is that discriminating book buyers look elsewhere for advice. Here even more unmistakably than in other parts of the newspaper the commercial nature of the enterprise sets up its antibody. As book publishers awake to the fact, probably they will exercise more care in the placing of their advertisements, and those Sunday supplements which are most clearly venal will begin to shrink in size. But it would be too much to hope that, even then, the ephemeral Sunday supplement would become an authoritative repository of literary criticism. It is likely still to be true, as Simeon Strunsky has observed, that "a few bricks flying about in the review columns would help." For the book supplement, by the very nature of the Sunday paper, must be dedicated to the advertiser.

VI

Other pages and other sections are devoted still more candidly to the advertiser. The model-house plans are

intended to attract the manufacturer, miller or distributor of building materials; the real estate blurbs to attract the Babbitts; the automobile, shipping, society, clubs, resorts, travel, shoppers' guide, drama, music, motion picture, home institute, fashion, radio, all have their obvious utility in an issue devoted to go-getting. The features in the "magazine" and elsewhere are devised for entertainment rather than information. Some are printed under news headlines, and present an engaging air, although the material beneath them might as well be printed on Saturday or Monday, since it is not live news. It may be timely, and often it is interesting, but the reasons for printing it are that there is a glut of space to be filled in advance of news press-time, and that it must be filled with bait which will give the paper "attention value."

Whole sections are devoted to "want ads." One paper asserts that it receives about 100,000 replies monthly to classified advertisements giving "key" numbers rather than the address of the advertiser. The Sunday paper is an employment bureau, real estate exchange, caravanserai. It will tell you where to find rooms furnished and unfurnished, apartments and apartment houses, shops to rent and factories to buy; there are lost-and-found columns, exchanges for radio accessories and used automobiles, announcements of births, engagements and deaths. To most readers this section has a distinct advantage: it can be thrown aside at once, without further ado. The real estate section and many others will follow according to the taste of the reader. The sport section will go into the discard unless a fan happens upon it; if there is any

real news in the sport world, it is likely to be found in the news section. There is this to be said about the pages devoted to paid and amateur athletics: they do not attract enough advertising to pay for the paper they are printed on. "Increased circulation," says Damon Runyon, chief Hearst impresario of this department, "is the only return newspapers can hope to realize from the money and space they devote to sports. If a sports writer can't deliver circulation he isn't worth a dime."

The rotogravure picture sections serve both purposes. Their success as circulation builders was a factor in the advent of the tabloid picture papers. It is commonly pretended that they are made up of "news" photographs. But an authentic news picture, such as the shooting of Mayor W. J. Gaynor, is so rare as to constitute an event in itself. A picture of an airplane after it has fallen, of the Tombs courtyard after a break for liberty, has the same relation to news as the warmed-over "feature" in the Sunday supplement. Prearranged happenings, such as parades, funerals and sport contests, can be photographed, but news of genuine importance is mostly beyond reach of the camera. The rotogravure, that is to say, is as distinctly a "feature" as the comics. In 1926, however, the rotogravure carried nearly eighteen million lines of advertising; and, since pictures are easier to look at than the printed word, these sections added materially to Sunday circulation.

The half-dozen papers in front of me have an aggregate circulation on Sundays more than twice as great as their average week-day sales. In the whole country, at

the beginning of 1927, two thousand daily papers had an aggregate circulation of thirty-six millions, whereas but 541 Sunday issues had a total of thirty-three millions. Hearst brags that his Sunday magazine section, which goes to all his papers, reaches one-fifth of the entire population of this land, literate and illiterate, male and female, infant and adult. The price of a single page in color for advertising is $15,000.

An advertising rate such as this would be out of the question for any Sunday paper without mass circulation. The fact that the average Sunday issue has a circulation twice as great as the week-day issue is sufficient evidence that it stoops to a broader basis of appeal. Its average appeal is to the average person; and we have at hand, fortunately, a scientific appraisal of the average man. It was compiled by Harry L. Hollingworth of Columbia University from a study of life insurance, army and navy, school and college, police and other data bearing on millions of individuals. Let me quote his findings in part.

The average man leaves school at the eighth grade. . . . His vocabulary includes about 7,500 words. He can probably tell what is meant by "nerve," but he will have difficulty with "coinage." . . . In spite of the fact that he is to be accepted as a citizen, he has no general knowledge of civics, politics or literature. He is able to speak one language only. On a standardized intelligence test he makes about the same score as does an average boy of fourteen. . . .

He believes a lot of nonsense and superstition. He does not take a great deal of interest in religion, although he has very set ideas about morality. . . .

This average man has firm, though unjustifiable, convictions about the causes of health and disease, and he readily prescribes for any known ailment. If he has heard of evolution he thinks that Darwin held men to be descended from monkeys. He has definite theories about the best time in which to plant crops, in the dark of the moon or in the light, and he has made some observations about thunder and lightning, such as "lightning never strikes twice in the same place." . . . It is not difficult to convince him that the spirit world communicates directly with us, and one or two coincidences are sufficient to convince him that thought transference is possible. . . . He falls a prey to quack character analysts, mediums, salesmen with unsound investments, and the like.

This superstitious, literate but uneducated, conventional person, mentally equal to a fourteen-year-old child, is fair game for the comic, Red Magic, and rotogravure sections of our Sunday supplements. It is to him that these supplements are addressed; to him, his wife and his children, his mother and sisters and brothers, provided they are on his mental level. In the pabulum supplied for them there is not much of nourishment or stimulation. They want their homes and breakfasts and clothes ready planned or ready made. They want to see pictures of persons they hear about. They want to be told that a movie star or an aviator is "a little lower than the angels"; and that "those who had wings came as ambassadors of Deity to mortals, bowed over the Shekinah, proclaimed peace and good-will among men and carried healing in their wings." Whatever that means? Phrases such as this are soothing to persons whose religion is nebulous or nil, even though the wall mottoes about peace and good-

will run hand and hand with propaganda for militarism.

Aldous Huxley describes American common life as "all movement and noise, like the water gurgling out of a bath down the waste. Yes, down the waste." It is a description which fits the Sunday paper, too, for the fugitive Sunday paper is adjusted to American common life. The very bigness of the thing is characteristically American. The screaming headlines of the main news section, the cheap emotionalism of the fiction, the slovenly English of the feature matter, the poverty of the "literary," musical and art contributions, the free publicity for advertised brands, the exploitation of personalities in the spotlight, the slang and slapstick of the funnysides, are in fact a little lower, one hopes, than the fourteen-year-old might be brought to enjoy.

No tendency is perceptible toward a less unwieldy output. On the contrary, the prospect is that the week-day paper will follow the elephantine Sunday. Henry A. Wise Wood, an inventor and manufacturer of newspaper machinery, forecasts a one-hundred-page daily within ten years, with "fiction, illustrations, general and specific information, and irresistible ads." If that be true, what hope is there that Sunday supplements may be brought within bounds? One turns from the picture to the saying of Samuel K. Ratcliffe: "The English reader examining a large-scale American paper, especially on Sundays, cannot but feel that it represents an astonishing organization for the prevention of reading."

Is there a threat here that the mother of yellow journalism may die of elephantiasis?

CHAPTER X

JOURNALISM AS BIG BUSINESS

Standardization and Mass Production

I

FROM what has already been said it must be seen that the metropolitan press has come into the ranks of Big Business. The event has been acclaimed with jubilation by the American Newspaper Publishers Association. And why not? The industry has its Henry Ford in the person of William Randolph Hearst. The processes of consolidation and multiple-unit operation go on apace. The tabloid picture papers have tapped new levels of consumption and opened new markets for the advertiser. The business is big and growing. Growth is not in the number of plants, which is diminishing rapidly, but in the turnover for the average daily.

Benjamin Franklin, writing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* back in 1735, observed: "There was never a greater dearth of news than at present. Some papers of December last are come in by Capt. Clymer from Lisbon, but it seems they are mislaid." This was the year that Franklin sent a lawyer to New York to defend John Peter Zenger, a fellow editor who had been jailed for criticizing the Colonial Governor. Newspapers may criticize public officials now without trepidation, and they no longer depend on European papers, three months old,

for news. The cable and the radio have put the world at their finger tips. Machinery and mass literacy have made possible mass production. But it has been two centuries coming. When the telephone was but half a century old, the automobile but a quarter, the radio receiving set less than a decade, each was recognized as an adult enterprise. Why should the daily press, now a Billion Dollar Industry, be so slow in its coming of age?

Mere age, of course, does not presuppose size. No business is Big Business solely by reason of its years. The baking industry was a good two thousand years old before it attained its majority. So long as the newspaper was printed with rag paper on a flatbed press it could hardly hope to meet modern industrial conditions. Ephemeral in character, it needed an ephemeral raw material; and wood pulp newsprint, which tears easily and yellows quickly, was not made until 1869. A type-revolving printing machine, forerunner of the rotary press and swift production, was installed in the plant of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* in 1846, and Mergenthaler Number One, the first machine to set type on a commercially practicable basis, took care of part of the composition for the New York *Tribune* on July 3, 1886. All the industrial equipment was in readiness more than forty years ago. As for the typewriter, it is more than fifty years old, but for twenty-five years after it was invented William R. Nelson of the Kansas City *Star* would not permit its use by his reporters, for fear it would spoil their "style." Not until two years after the telegraph had been demonstrated, not until eight years after the

transatlantic cable was laid, did James Gordon Bennett and other publishers avail themselves of these speedier means of transmitting the tidings of the day. We will see as we go along that newspaper owners and editors, instead of being the exemplars of initiative they are commonly supposed to be, are in truth rather a backward lot. But other forces than that have been at work to hinder the efficient commercial development of the press. Not the least of these is an editorial astigmatism as to its prosperous uses in a republican State.

At the publishers' session of which I have spoken one of the delegates said that editors had been too much interested in politicians, details and ideas. "Now," he added, "they are interested in making money." Another delegate, known primarily as a crusading editor, winced at this. He thought it not altogether a good thing that newspapers had become frankly commercial. He did not know what claim a strictly commercial enterprise could lay on a Constitutional guarantee of freedom. "But the day has come," he admitted. "We must put our best brains to work to see that as Big Business newspapers are wisely and properly conducted."

Why the editor or any one else should blink the fact that news is vended so a profit may be reaped from advertising I do not quite know. An early Massachusetts journal was supported in part by the State, and there have been newspapers in this country subsidized by selfish interests, by politicians and by churches. The difference between the cost of producing newspapers and the price the public has been taught to pay for them, has

got to be met somehow. A metropolitan daily which sells for two cents may cost as much as fourteen. By and large, the advertiser pays the difference, plus the profit to the publisher. An entirely independent press is a fiction.

But a tradition took root in that trial of John Peter Zenger for libel. It was the tradition of the press as a censor of the State and as the palladium of our liberties. That is why the editor dissembles the fact that three-fourths or more of his revenue is derived from the sordid sale of space. He shrinks from comparison with captains of mass production. He considers his paper, as we shall have occasion to observe later, an instrument divinely ordained and anointed for public service and social justice. He thinks of himself as too much an individualist to fit in pliably with schemes of standardization, efficiency and conformity.

This mental attitude is but one of the stumbling blocks in the road of the press to Big Business. There have been economic factors, too. The precarious relation of the industry to its market, the instability due to sharp competition, the tardiness in effecting efficiency, and a certain confusion as to the nature of the business itself, in its merchandising and manufacturing functions, have contributed to the delay. Let us look first at the relation of your daily paper to you, its reader.

II

When your newspaper ceases to amuse, astonish, and mystify you, there is no reason why you should continue

to buy it. Unless you are an exceptional person, you are under no contract to read it every day. The papers with the largest circulations have relatively the smallest subscription lists. The reader is footloose and fancy free. He may shift to-morrow from an old favorite to a new love, from the matronly eight-column sheet to a boyish-form tabloid. Your newspaper awaits you at the corner much as Marpessa told Apollo she might await him, some day by the Western Bay, "not sure of thee, with desperate smiles and pitiful devices of my dress or fashion of my hair." That is to say, your paper awaits you with the desperate smiles of the columnist and comic artist, the pitiful devices of the fashion hint, the bedtime story and the rotogravure section. It explains, too, why the editor trembles lest an ill-judged story or an unwise opinion alienate his audience and so cost him part of his advertising revenue.

The publisher deals in a perishable commodity, moreover, which loses its bloom when exposed to light. It is the shortest-lived commodity known to the business world. News has this quality, that the man who sells it still possesses it, and that the purchaser may sell it in turn, but still possess it. If 'twere sold, 'twere well 'twere sold quickly, for another sun will see its value vanished. And there are other elements of instability: libel suits (we now have chain libel suits), radical increases in wage scales for organized workers, not for the editorial group, and variations in the cost of the principal raw material. Publishers in this country have seen the price of newsprint move within ten years from $35 a ton to $135. Stock-

holders in the *Journal of Commerce,* a long-established New York newspaper, revealed before its change of ownership that its dividends ran as high as 140 per cent in 1921, and dropped to four per cent in 1925. This was ascribed to a situation which should not obtain in newspaper management, and seldom does obtain, but the possibility is there.

As a rule the fiscal affairs of the press remain in shadow. We know that Benjamin Day founded the New York *Sun* and Isaac Van Anden the Brooklyn *Eagle* mainly to keep job printers busy. Two small boys started the San Francisco *Chronicle,* without funds, as a theatrical program. James Gordon Bennett established the New York *Herald* with $500, and Horace Greeley the *Tribune* with only twice as much. The elder Pulitzer became a newspaper proprietor by purchasing a St. Louis paper at auction for $2,500, combined it with another into the *Post-Dispatch,* and from the profits of his venture paid $346,000 for the *World* to Jay Gould, who was about to retire from the stock market and had no further use for such an organ. Adolph S. Ochs bought the Chattanooga *Times* on a cash payment of $250 and out of his profits and labor acquired control of the *New York Times.* Nowadays a million dollars is little enough wherewith to undertake the establishment of a metropolitan daily paper.

Bennett's *Herald* and Greeley's *Tribune* are now combined and are capitalized at $200,000; the *World* is capitalized at half a million, the *Eagle* at a million and a half, the *Times* at ten millions. Obviously these widely di-

vergent figures give no notion either of capital investment or of the market value of the properties. (The *Times* alone has an investment of fifteen millions in realty and equipment.) The properties are closely held, and the public seldom learns what valuation is placed on them until they are put on the market, sometimes not then. Even more rarely are balance sheets divulged.

The stock of the Brooklyn *Eagle* has a par value of $100, and pays a $10 dividend. These net profits have become public: in 1923, $285,648 on a gross business of more than four millions; in 1922, $400,000 net on a gross of $3,866,995; in 1921, a net of more than a quarter of a million on a gross of more than three and a half millions. The total assets are reported at $3,294,917, the current assets at $1,200,000 and the current liabilities (in 1926) at $111,466. One of the assets listed was the Associated Press franchise, valued at $1,000.

These figures raise the important question of good-will valuation, which might be placed somewhere between three and four million dollars, according to the method of computing it. The newspaper's net tangible assets, in general, are small in comparison with its annual business, and the intangible asset of good-will—which, as we have seen, is precarious—bulks large. A daily paper may do a business of $50,000 a year in a plant costing but $20,000. But in this the press is not alone. The manufacturers of a certain soft drink, for example, have net tangible assets of less than seven millions, but they do such a large and profitable business that the stock has a market value of more than ninety millions.

III

When a newspaper property is sold, however, we get a better notion of its good-will value. The New York Evening *Sun* and *Telegram,* the only papers remaining to Frank A. Munsey out of sixteen he bought, were sold after his death with the Munsey chain of grocery stores (the three lumped together as Mr. Munsey would have thought seemly), for thirteen millions, and it was estimated that the papers represented ten millions of this. The Kansas City *Star* was put on the market for eleven millions, the Chicago *Daily News* at thirteen, the New York *Herald* and its Paris edition for about four millions, the Philadelphia *North American* for $1,700,000 and the San Francisco *Bulletin* for $1,000,000. The Dallas *News,* published in a city with a population in 1920 of less than 160,000, has been appraised at more than two millions.

We are dealing in figures which merit the term Big Business, but there is still a haze as to the bases for the figures. Victor F. Lawson, late owner of the Chicago *Daily News,* tried to dissipate the fog by estimating that circulation was worth not less than eight nor more than ten dollars a head, and his estimate has been accepted by the Treasury Department in fixing or altering income taxes. On that basis the circulation alone of the New York *Daily News,* a tabloid picture paper, is worth more than eight millions. It is the biggest daily circulation in this country. Mr. Lawson computed the value of an exclusive morning Associated Press franchise as worth

$1 per head of the community. Yet the *Eagle,* in a borough of two and a quarter million people, rates its franchise at only $1,000; and the Scripps-Howard group, when they bought two newspapers in Denver recently, as well as the New York *Telegram,* threw the franchises overboard.

We will return in a moment to this dispute between the news-gathering agencies. Just now we are concerned with the uncertainty which has surrounded daily journalism as a business, and has caused banking houses to look askance at publishers when they sought credit. That uncertainty is being dissipated. William Randolph Hearst, head of the biggest publishing business in the world, has floated bond issues of late years against various properties, some as high as twelve millions. Paul Block, Inc., sold through a Wall Street syndicate in 1926 a bond issue of more than four millions, secured by some papers owned by the group. When Ochs bought the *Times* thirty years ago he had to give away stock with the bonds in order to refinance the property. That newspaper owners have found now that they can procure credit on the same terms as other business men is a sign of their coming of age.

In a few instances newspaper stock has been sold on the open market. Three years ago a Wall Street broker advertised five hundred shares of the Brooklyn *Eagle* at $180 a share, and disposed of them. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., while he was engaged in an unlucky venture with a chain of seven tabloid papers, sold some stock to the public at $100 a share, advertising, "Act on Your

Urge and Send the Coupon!" When the Ridders consolidated the *Journal of Commerce* and the New York *Commercial* at the beginning of 1927, there was an issue of $950,000 in ten-year notes, with purchase warrants entitling the holder to buy common stock in the concern. The Ridders—Joseph, Bernard and Victor, sons of Herman Ridder of the *Staats-Zeitung*—retained control of two-thirds of the stock. This transaction merits some attention, inasmuch as these are business journals which were consolidated, and inasmuch as the deal was conducted with the appurtenances and processes of Big Business.

The *Journal of Commerce* was all but a centenarian, and the *Commercial* was even older, having been established in 1795. During 1918-21 their earnings aggregated more than half a million a year, and in 1920 were more than $700,000; during the five fiscal years preceding the merger they were an average of $215,725; for the calendar year 1926 they were $158,404. The Associated Press membership held by the *Journal of Commerce* was sold to the *Daily News,* a picture tabloid paper, for $350,000. The deal for the *Journal of Commerce* was chiefly noteworthy because of the offer to the public of 19,000 shares of common stock, carrying a voice in the control of the merged publication.

In England the Amalgamated Press, comprising two London newspapers and a great number of periodicals, lists its stock on the public exchange.

IV

The more economical harvesting of the daily news-crop, its more economical distribution and the standardization of its form have been effected through large agencies as the press moved along the road toward Big Business. When a visiting Queen reaches our shores, the same account of the event, and the same version of the words which fall from her lips, may be read simultaneously in Albany, Denver, Seattle, San Antonio, Atlanta and New Orleans. The Associated Press, a co-operative organization, the United Press, owned by the Scripps-Howard group, and the International News, a Hearst property, are the principal competitors in this field. Hearst has his own service (and sells it to papers other than his own) because he can seldom get an Associated Press franchise. The Scripps-Howard group can get it, but will not accept it because of this clause in its by-laws:

No member shall furnish or permit any one in his employ or connected with the newspaper specified in his certificate of membership to furnish to any person who is not a member, the news of the Corporation in advance of publication, or to another member any news received from the Corporation which the Corporation is itself debarred from furnishing to such a member, nor conduct his business in such a manner that the news furnished by the Corporation may be communicated to any person, firm, corporation or association not entitled to receive the same.

The Scripps-Howard newspapers have professed unwillingness to join "an organization collecting and selling

a basic journalistic commodity—news—in a highly competitive field, if acceptance of that membership must be at a price of our own right to dispose of our own property." Roy W. Howard, chairman of the Scripps-Howard board, subsequently issued a statement that "an airing and a better understanding of the entire subject of press association endeavor in the United States is going to be demanded and obtained." He outlined the beginnings of the United Press under the management of the late E. W. Scripps, who "sensed a real danger" in "the aspirations of those who would have developed a complete or even a quasi monopoly of the business of collecting and distributing the telegraphic news of national and international events"; and continued:

"His sense of danger was heightened by his knowledge that the Associated Press, while claiming to be a fully mutualized and coöperative concern, was in fact only nominally so. He frankly regarded as disingenuous and menacing the bond-holding provisions in the corporate make-up of the Associated Press. He recognized that the directors of the Associated Press are absolute autocrats of its destiny. He knew there was nothing mutual in the manner of choosing its directors. He knew that the real control did not rest with the ordinary member controlling a single vote but in the selected body of men chosen by the founders of the Associated Press, who through their ownership of a mere $150,000 worth of bonds could cast six thousand ballots in an election where if the entire membership (even to-day) votes en bloc it can only muster about twelve hundred votes against the will of the

restricted minority who are bond-holding members. . . . The subject is not one for anger or acrimony. It is one for the serious consideration and dispassionate judgment of every one interested in keeping free and unhampered the flow from the news sources which are the great indispensable, vitalizing force of the daily press."

To this the Associated Press made no reply. It has successfully defended itself in the courts against a charge of monopoly, and has recently liberalized its bond-holding provisions. Its contention that the organization sells its version of the news, and is sole owner of such news as it has "mined and refined," has been upheld. The incident is noted at some length because this dispute between two great news agencies has distinctly an air of Big Business, whether or not either is a monopoly.

In only one sizable city of the United States is there an actual monopoly of the newspaper field, and that city, now nearly three hundred years old, was one of the New England protagonists of colonial freedom. Springfield, Mass., with a population of 130,000 in 1920, has two morning, two afternoon and one Sunday newspapers, all under the single management of Sherman Bowles and his associates, owners of the *Republican*. The two Sunday papers have been merged, but there is theoretic competition between the week-day issues; although there is an advertising rate card covering the whole group.

V

The news-gathering agencies standardize and cheapen the principal—or at least distinguishing—commodity the

press has to offer; feature syndicates standardize and cheapen a mass of stuff which occupies about one-third as much space in the average paper as news, and which has already been considered in the chapter on the Sunday paper. It is possible for Albany, Denver, Seattle, San Antonio, Atlanta and New Orleans to follow the fortunes of the Gumps with the same concurrent unanimity as the travels of a Queen. The syndicates, by selling their wares to large numbers of consumers in many cities, are able to offer, in some instances, a higher grade of work than could be attracted otherwise to the daily press.

Standardization is being effected in other directions, especially in equipment, accounts, plants and the size of papers. The newsprint requirements of the daily press range from a width of sixteen inches to eighty-three and a fraction, with many fractions between. There are twenty different arrangements of columns and column widths and a wide variation of margin widths. The consequence is that feature stuff prepared for general distribution, as well as advertising cuts and mats, do not fit all the columns for which they are intended. Such conditions cannot be tolerated in an industry which must stand or fall by mass production. The publishers' association, embracing five hundred of the largest papers, has employed an engineer as mechanical director to help them standardize mechanically. They are coöperating also, in some instances, in solving their delivery problems. In Philadelphia the morning papers have a joint agency for city distribution. In some States and even some sections, such as New England, groups of papers coöperate in

seeking advertising, and even issue a blanket rate covering the whole field. These are unmistakable symptoms of Big Business.

VI

William Randolph Hearst, a conspicuous exemplar of the trend toward newspaper economies through the establishment of chains, leads in circulation. The Scripps-Howard group, with twenty-six dailies, will be more fully described in the next chapter. There were in 1927 fifty-five newspaper chains, controlling 230 dailies, with a combined circulation during the week of more than thirteen millions, and on Sundays of more than eleven millions. These include nine tabloid papers, and left only two such papers in the large cities outside the multiple-unit management.

For these facts I am indebted to *Editor and Publisher,* which made a survey at the beginning of 1927. Comparison of this with its survey of three years before reveals that the number of chains or groups increased during that period by about eighty per cent, and the number of daily papers involved, from 153 to 228. In 1924, the circulation of chain papers was thirty per cent of the total daily, and more than forty per cent of the total Sunday; while in 1927 the percentages had grown respectively to more than thirty-six and more than forty-five. We need not concern ourselves with details of the smaller chains, nor with the group-ownerships (not included in this tabulation) which control two or more papers in a single city, instead of in separate localities.

Frank A. Munsey was ambitious to own a chain of newspapers, but when his purchases did not die he succumbed to the merger impulse. Mergers are a twin phenomena with chains. When Chicago, our second largest city, was half its present size it had seven morning papers; now it has but two. Cleveland, which had three morning papers a quarter of a century ago, now has but one. In Philadelphia the *Times, Press, Telegraph, News, North American* and *Item* have gone to the journalistic graveyard during this generation. In Pittsburgh the *Dispatch* and *Leader* were put to the axe five years ago. In 1924 this city had seven papers; now there are but three, each a unit in a chain and only one a morning issue. Maryland once had twenty-six dailies, instead of her present fourteen.

When Detroit had less than 200,000 population, it supported three morning newspapers; now, with a million population, it has but one. St. Paul has but one, although its population has quadrupled since the days when there were two. Minneapolis, with nearly half a million people, and St. Louis, with three-quarters of a million, have each but one morning daily. In the early nineties, New York, with a population of four millions, boasted eleven morning papers; now, with six millions, there are but seven of general circulation, and all but two of these are links in chains.

"The same law of economics," Munsey was wont to say, "applies to the newspaper business that operates in all other important businesses to-day; small units in any line are no longer competitive factors." But he did not

always put out of existence small units or cripples. In Baltimore he consolidated the *Star* with the *News,* and sold the merger, plus the *American* to Hearst. Munsey merged the New York *Press* into the morning *Sun,* then threw in the *Herald,* and sold the potful to the *Tribune.* Successively he tossed the *Globe* and *Mail* into the maw of mergers. He paid two and a half millions for the *Press,* three millions for the morning and afternoon *Sun,* four millions for the Bennett papers, the *Herald* and *Telegram,* with their Paris edition. Never had such an operator been seen in New York. Yet after all his prodigious activity he owned at his death but two papers. Probably he was the poorer in purse; undoubtedly the newspaper field was the poorer in strength, independence and authority. With Victor Lawson of Chicago and William R. Nelson of the Kansas City *Star,* Munsey was classed with the new, the Twentieth Century, school of successful, highly commercial journalists; yet all these are now dead, and Ochs survives as the most eminent advocate of their policies.

The main factor in newspaper consolidations is the advertiser. He does not want to spend money for overlapping circulation. He would prefer but one paper in every morning and afternoon field, if that could be arranged. In many instances he has exerted economic pressure to bring about mergers, and in others he has prevented the establishment of new papers. To many newspaper men (I am one of them) it seems that editorial competition is essential to the usefulness of our daily press; but there is no denying that the chain systems and the mergers have contributed to the stabilizing of the industry toward

that point where it could lay claim to its title as Big Business.

VII

During the last twelve years there has been a steady decrease in the number of daily newspapers in the United States, excepting 1924, when there was a slight gain. The circulation meanwhile has steadily increased. What has been happening will be revealed by a tabulation of figures from the United States Census and from *Editor and Publisher:*

Year	Number of Daily Papers	Sunday Issues	Aggregate Circulation Per Issue
1914	2,580	571	28,777,454
1919	2,441	604	33,028,630
1926	2,001	541	36,000,000

There was an average in 1926 of one Sunday copy for every family in the United States, although it is estimated that one-fourth of our population cannot read headlines; and an average of one and one-third newspapers for each family each week-day. The acreage of advertising was double that of 1914; as to revenue, the increase from 1914 to 1919 was 121 per cent in advertising, and 105 per cent from the sales of papers. In 1919 the advertising revenue, which was two-thirds the total revenue of the press, was 400 millions; in 1923 it was well above 600 millions and in 1926 it was more than 800 millions and constituted three-fourths of the gross revenue.

During the first half of 1927 the trend toward fewer

newspapers was more pronounced than at any other time since the World War. The six months witnessed a decrease in the number of dailies from 2001 to 1952; in July two more disappeared. The total net circulation (this being calculated on the six-month period ended March 31, 1927) increased by 2.8 per cent. At the beginning of July the average morning newspaper milline rate was ten cents higher than at the first of the year, the average afternoon rate four cents lower and the average Sunday rate six cents lower. Eleven New York dailies showed advertising losses during the first six months. Of the four gainers, the tabloid *News,* which has the highest newspaper line rate in the United States, was far in the lead. The others to gain were the *Herald Tribune, Evening Post* and *Evening World.*

In the Census reports, newspaper publishing is listed as a manufacturing enterprise, but it has its merchandising side. The sale of the paper is sometimes on a factory-to-consumer basis, sometimes to retailers, sometimes through jobbers. Wrapped up in this paper are two packages; a bundle of news and a bundle of sales suggestions. The paper is at once a compendium of facts on which public opinion is based and a market-place for thousands of commodities.

In this dual capacity the newspaper publisher and owner does better, as a rule, if he leave political ambition out of his picture. Senator Arthur Capper, former Governor James M. Cox, who was the Democratic nominee for President in 1920, former Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, former Senator Carter Glass and the

late President Harding are among the politicians who own or have owned newspapers. But these are exceptions. The *Tribune,* from Greeley's day to Whitelaw Reid's, was used with fair consistency to promote personal political plans, but nowadays partisanship outside the editorial pages is unpopular. Is there any reason, after all, why a newspaper should champion one party above another, instead of giving an equal hearing and an equal showing, even on its editorial page? The trend undoubtedly is toward complete political independence. The deplorable fact is that mass production demands a product which will offend as few as possible among hundreds of thousands of readers. While the newspapers have been learning lessons in business they have been learning lessons in conformity. They print yes-and-no editorials.

While they are taking lessons they may learn something else that Big Business has been demonstrating during the last decade: that one-man or one-family control is not essential to success. I might cite a multitude of instances in the industrial world, such as the Dodge automobile, Case threshing machines, chain stores, department stores, shoes, adding machines and so on; the old theory that there must be an overshadowing personality at the top has gone by the board. Industries like General Motors, banker-organized and banker-managed, are competing successfully with such outstanding industrialists as Henry Ford. In the American newspaper world this practice has not yet found a foothold. The

theory is that a great newspaper must be the lengthened shadow of a man.

Undoubtedly the rate of newspaper retrogression has been rapid, after death has removed the builder. We have witnessed the melancholy spectacle of great properties in their decline, when deprived of their informing geniuses. Administered as estates for the heirs, they withered. Nevertheless, the Dodge automobile, when the brothers who had built it died, passed into the control of a banking syndicate, and appeared to thrive. Would it have been more shocking to newspaper men if Victor Lawson had arranged to turn over the *Daily News* to such a syndicate, instead of leaving it under the management of a Chicago trust company pending its sale to the highest bidder? Would it have been more disquieting to see the Munsey papers marketed on the Stock Exchange, than to see them bartered in company with a chain of grocery stores?

VIII

It will be argued, however (by any newspaper man who has the good humor to argue a proposal so heretical as this must seem to them), that personality and individuality and conscience are the essence of newspaper publishing. The same thing used to be said about automobile building. The same thing used to be said about the manufacture of cash registers and shoes. In those cases it proved to be not quite true. And there are reasons why a wide diffusion of newspaper ownership would tend to create good-will and effect greater stability.

It would tend to make fast the tie between a newspaper and its readers. The owner of a newspaper's stock would read that paper, he would speak well of it to his acquaintances, supply it with news tips and inform it of public sentiment. Even more important would be part-ownership by employés, such as is coming to be a practice among many other industries. The New York *Sun* is being "mutualized"; other publications might follow suit. It is possible that the press may come by this road more closely into relation with the public good. It is a public utility, and might well reflect the interests of a multitude of partners.

Although some newspapers have been sold at auction, and some have sold stock publicly, it is not probable that we will see their stock listed in the near future on the exchanges. Not many are so stable that Wall Street syndicates would care to underwrite them, and those are closely held. Moreover, newspaper owners are not likely to be forehanded, even should the opportunity present itself. The remarkable changes which have come to American journalism have not come from within, but have been the product of outside forces. To changes around them newspapers have responded, as a rule, somewhat tardily. The great growth in general industry required more advertising, and the resultant vast increase in the volume of advertising worked radical expansion in the bulk of newspapers, as well as radical changes in their contents. It was a force from without which did this. At the outbreak of the World War, the American press still relied chiefly on foreign agencies for its foreign

news; few newspapers maintained correspondents abroad; the external pressure of the greatest news event in history, which they were unprepared to handle, forced them to build up adequate services in other countries; and even now they have, as a class, no adequate and satisfactory representation in China.

Other great industrial enterprises maintain their own laboratories and research departments. The General Electric, the rubber manufacturers, the telephone companies and steel corporations are examples of such self-help. But the press, although it is rated as our sixth industry, does nothing of the sort. Newspaper presses and other equipment have been improved without a direct subsidy from newspaper owners. If ever the acute problem of producing newsprint from other sources than spruce and hemlock and fir is solved, it is almost certain to be solved without help from those who will benefit chiefly. Many chemists and engineers are at work on it, for the vanishing forests of this continent and Scandinavia long since gave their warning. In 1923 our papers used the supply from 275,000 acres. Yet I cannot find that any newspaper has set up a research staff of its own to attempt a solution even of a problem so serious as this.

The higher quality and greater dependability of newspaper advertising was forced from without; a weekly magazine, I remember, led the fight, but even yet some papers advertise medical fakes. There has been a voluntary and partly spontaneous improvement in the decolorizing of news, but there has also been a vast increase in the volume of news from interested sources, such as

publicity agencies. Whether the press has improved in content, and to what extent changes have originated within the press itself, really are questions incidental to its status as an industry. That our daily newspapers have been a little backward, a little timid about taking up innovations, seems clear enough from the record. It is one of the reasons for the tardiness of journalism in breasting the tape of Big Business.

CHAPTER XI

THE SCRIPPS-HOWARD GROUP

A Chain with Local Editorial Autonomy

I

AT the twentieth birthday celebration of the United Press, Mr. Coolidge was the chief speaker, and beside him sat a former newsboy, now chairman of the Scripps-Howard papers and part owner of the news agency. The presence of the Chief Executive of the United States dramatized the growth and power of a comparatively new factor in American journalism: "a world power," as one man put it, "influential beyond the dream of any of its founders."

When the United Press Associations were formed by the combination of three scattered agencies, its New York staff consisted of twelve persons, including the office boy, and it was a red-letter day when five hundred words of news were cabled from abroad. A big domestic "flash" of the time was that the Wright brothers had succeeded in getting their airplane off the ground. Now the United Press serves, in seventeen languages, newspapers scattered through thirty-eight countries. It receives a daily cable service running to ten thousand words. It has twenty-eight foreign bureaus, thirty-six in the United States, and a correspondent in every other news centre. It leases

more than one hundred thousand miles of wire, and its dispatches are read by twenty million Americans.

Few of these twenty millions realized what had been happening, in the field of news-gathering and news-distribution, during those twenty years. Few except newspaper men knew how the United Press had waxed in strength and size. Even to many newspaper men it was a surprise. Some twenty years ago I was a reporter on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* when the assistant telegraph editor announced that he was going to take a job as news-editor of the Scripps-McRae (as it was then) paper in Cincinnati. "Don't you think it a mistake," remonstrated the Responsible Editor, "to leave a great paper founded by Joseph Pulitzer and go to work for people who don't even know the *why* of a newspaper?" He was not merely belittling a rival employer: he was expressing the opinion of many sapient newspaper men in that period of the Scripps outfit. The assistant telegraph editor, however, could not resist the lure of twenty-seven-fifty a week, and betook his hundred pounds to Cincinnati.

This was Roy W. Howard, the former newsboy who sat beside President Coolidge at the "U. P." banquet; and that incident is one of the reasons for writing this chapter.

Why are the Scripps-Howard newspapers?

II

The original why of the Scripps-Howard chain and of the United Press was Edward W. Scripps who, with ten thousand dollars borrowed from an elder brother, founded the newspaper from which sprang the present twenty-six,

stretching from coast to coast; it was he who formulated for them the aspirations and principles which, now that he is dead, still mold their policies. As an Illinois farm boy, sitting atop a rail fence, he had observed that his fellows worked long and hard for very little, and seldom rose above a persistent drudgery; he had noted, too, that they were ignored and inarticulate. Thus he got a notion of a newspaper for the Under Dog. When, in 1879, he founded the *Penny Press* (now the *Cleveland Press*), he instructed "Bob" Paine, its editor, that no man with pull or power or money was to be treated better than any other man. This was a keynote.

It happened that on one of Scripps's early visits to Cleveland he fell into a misdemeanor perhaps more frequent in that day than this. The next day the *Press* carried, as an ordinary Police Court item, the fact that he had been fined ten dollars for "reckless driving (of horses) while intoxicated." "Ed" Scripps had the high temper which often goes with red hair; and he had a human impulse to ease his wrath by firing the editor.

"For a full minute," Paine said afterward, "his eye was on mine, with all the benevolence of a gar-pike glaring at a nice fat minnow. Then the stern features relaxed, and into his eyes came that smile which those who knew him will never forget." The upshot was that the editor got an increase of pay, and is still with the Scripps chain.

There was another incident of those trying early days which had its significance. A young advertising man, by holding out collections, embezzled four thousand dollars. It was a great deal of money to the struggling paper. The

business manager wired Scripps proudly that he would lose nothing: a mortgage had been taken on the home of the youth's mother. "You will not prosecute," came the angry reply; "you will cancel mortgage at once. You will put four thousand in your profit and loss account, due to damned poor management."

During the eighties Scripps extended his holdings rapidly. He wrote little for his papers. He swam with his men, played penny-ante with them, bossed them, quarrelled with them and listened to them; and so by an intimate process he inculcated in them his own definite notions of the why of a newspaper. "Fire the liar," was a favorite aphorism. There was long-suffering patience for the blunders of youth, but short shrift for the deceiver. "A newspaper," Scripps wrote once, "is a thing of growth, and, properly conducted, is everlasting. It is not a fake or a snap for a day or two, or a scheme to bunco money out of fools' pockets. A reputation for honesty, and ability to give good service for money, is more necessary than a reputation for virtue in women."

When Scripps died in March, 1926, aboard his yacht in Monrovia Bay, leaving directions that his body should be consigned to the sea, he owned only about two-fifths of the great concern he had built from that first ten thousand dollars (the remainder being owned by his associates and executives), and the actual valuation of his holdings has not been determined. This much is certain, that he left the largest fortune ever amassed solely in the newspaper business by any one man in this country; and yet he was the least known of any man who had achieved

great success in American journalism. In addition to his papers he had created a news service, a feature service and an agency to give the public authentic news of scientific progress, as well as other related enterprises. A man of great capacity and industry, he had avoided notoriety and self-advertisement. Colonel Milton McRae, who was associated with him for years, and who was one of the founders of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, was a more familiar figure. Both fought for organized labor. Both espoused the theory that high wages would not cripple industry, but would heighten prosperity through increased purchasing power.

That theory, derided at first, led many persons to denounce the Scripps papers as labor agitators. Now the theory is a shibboleth of industrial captains, and has the public approval of Mr. Coolidge. The Scripps-McRae papers, however, and the Scripps-Howard papers afterward, were economically partisan, and they were regarded by their conservative neighbors as rather rowdy. If the word had been invented then, they would have been called Bolshevist. They had a Stephen Decatur attitude toward the union: they were for it, right or wrong. As organized labor grew stronger, and the practices of the capitalist group altered for the better, the Scripps-Howard papers modified their policy. The Cleveland paper uncovered corruption in the building trades union, for example, and helped send two men to the penitentiary. The sort of partisanship which had brought a charge of radicalism in an earlier day lacked motivation, once the worker was strong enough to stand on his own feet.

The informing genius of the Scripps-Howard papers withdrew from active control in 1920, and four years later he wrote a letter to Robert P. Scripps, the only living son, from which I wish to make certain brief passages to complete this thumb-nail sketch of the man:

It is my opinion that the value of the properties over which you exercise control might well increase many fold if your chief aim were merely to cause increase in wealth. However, I repeat now what I told you when I first launched you in your career: That I would prefer that you should succeed in being in all things a gentleman, according to the real meaning of that word, than that you should vastly increase the money value of my estate. Being a gentleman, you cannot fail to devote your whole mind and energy to the service of the plain people who constitute the vast majority of the people of the United States. . . . You are and can be, continually, entirely free from any temptation to cater to any class of your fellow citizens for profit. You have not had nor should you at any time ever have any ambition to secure political or social eminence.

A fairly definite line is drawn there between the technique of being a gentleman and the technique of aggrandizement.

III

I share the prejudice of most newspaper men against consolidations, mergers and chains. That independence and competition are prerequisite to a courageous and alert press seems almost axiomatic. How can a paper under absentee ownership, pledged to contribute its share to the profits of an organization, subservient to an editorial voice in another city, serve its own community competently? In

the latter part of 1926 the Scripps-Howard "string" was strengthened, or lengthened, by a remarkable series of purchases and mergers. In Denver the *Times* was bought and merged with the *Express,* the existing afternoon Scripps-Howard paper; and the *Rocky Mountain News* was added as the first morning paper of the group. In Knoxville the *Sentinel* was purchased and merged with the *News* as the *News-Sentinel.* In Memphis the *News-Scimitar* was bought and merged with the *Press* as the *Press-Scimitar.* These operations were made possible, if not imperative, by a provision in the will of E. W. Scripps that one-third of the profits from his properties should be utilized periodically to expand them. He intended that his influence should be extended thus and perpetuated. Approximately two and one-half million dollars was spent in the purchase of these four papers.

It may be as well to enumerate here the other papers in the chain. (Perhaps one of them is near enough for you to see for yourself what manner of publications they are.) The New York *Telegram* is the latest acquisition. "It may be of interest," said William T. Dewart, from whom the property was purchased, "to know that the *Telegram* was not sold to the highest bidder. In fact, a substantial sum in excess of the very handsome consideration received from the Scripps-Howard interests might have been had for this property; but I felt that the future of the paper, the welfare of its present organization and the interests of the community would be best served and most surely safeguarded by a sale to the new owners."

The remaining newspapers in the group are: The Cleve-

land *Press,* Baltimore *Post,* Pittsburgh *Press,* San Francisco *News,* Washington *News,* Cincinnati *Post,* Indianapolis *Times,* Toledo *News-Bee,* Columbus *Citizen,* Covington (Ky.) *Post,* Akron *Times-Press,* Birmingham *Post,* Houston *Press,* Youngstown *Telegram,* Fort Worth *Press,* Oklahoma City *News,* Evansville *Press,* El Paso *Post,* San Diego *Sun,* Terre Haute *Post,* and Albuquerque (N. M.) *State Tribune.*

In my own efforts to learn what manner of papers these were my attention was attracted first to Denver, because I marvelled at the temerity of the Scripps-Howard group in challenging the entrenched domination over that field of the *Post.*

Fred G. Bonfils and H. H. Tammen bought the Denver *Post* in 1895, when it was published in a basement and its editorial staff consisted of three men. "Write what you see," Tammen told his staff. "If it is horrible, tell why it is horrible and leave nothing to the reader's imagination. Nothing is too trivial to interest some reader. More people are interested in a man who falls and breaks his leg in Curtis street than in a disaster in China." Subsequently he and Bonfils owned for twelve years the Kansas City *Post.* When Tammen died in 1924 his estate was estimated at more than five millions. His partner carried on, and at the beginning of 1927 his Denver paper had twice the combined circulation of the three other dailies in the city. One of these was the *Express,* a Scripps-Howard property, with less than fifteen thousand circulation. By the purchase of the others from John C. Shaffer the field was limited to two competitors.

The Denver Chamber of Commerce gave a lunch to Roy Howard when the deal was made. "We are coming to Denver," he assured the business men, amid cheers, "neither with a tin cup nor a lead pipe. We will live with and in this community and not on nor off it. We are nobody's Big Brother, wayward sister or poor relation. We come here simply as news merchants. We are here to sell advertising and sell it at a rate profitable to those who buy it. But first we must produce a newspaper with news appeal that will result in a circulation to make that advertising effective. We will run no lottery."

Bonfils started a morning paper to compete with the *Rocky Mountain News,* the oldest paper in Colorado, and took the Associated Press franchise for it, in addition to the Hearst news service and certain features he had utilized theretofore. He subscribed also to the news services of the Chicago *Tribune* and the *New York Times.* He did not intend to lose his practical monopoly without a fight; and it was a fight to gladden the heart of the whole Rocky Mountain region.

Competition for "want ads" marked the beginning of the fray. The *Post* had made a practice of giving away premiums, and announced that it would dispense two gallons of gasoline with each advertisement of two or more lines. (The advertisement, if of two lines, cost twenty-six cents; gasoline was selling at twenty-one cents a gallon.) The *News* countered by saying it would give three gallons. After a pause, the *Post* rose to four. See you! cried the *News,* in effect, and raise you one: five gallons with every ad. Its competitor quit, and on a single Sun-

day the *News* printed 15,000 "want ads," covering twenty-eight pages. It gave away gasoline to a retail value of $15,750 in one day, and took over lunch-stands to feed free sandwiches and coffee to waiting motorists.

The *Post* announced a flapper serial; the *News* gave away the book as a Sunday classified premium. The morning *Post* appeared with fifty-two pages; the morning *News* printed sixty-eight, and thereafter maintained a lead of eight to twelve pages daily. The *Post* said it would announce with bombs the opening of the Moffat tunnel nearby; the *News* learned that the sappers working toward each other would meet sooner than expected, and announced the event first, with thirty-six bombs atop its building.

This was in the Bonfils tradition, for he and his late partner, Harry Tammen, a former bartender, were owners of the Sells-Floto Circus, and often said that running a newspaper was just like running a circus. There was to be an automobile show, for instance. The *Post* advertised a magnificent spectacle at a bluff on Castle Mountain, outside the city. Thither the citizenry repaired to see "a thrilling leap for death by seventy-five world famous Autoarabs, the tumbling Gas Anns, the Leaping Lenas of motordom's circus world."

Army tanks hauled some battered automobile has-beens to the brink, and the populace gasped as they hurtled over into a noisy wreckage.

The *News* countered by becoming a free grocer. It gave away with Sunday "want ads" any of these commodities: half a dozen oranges, half a pound of bacon, four

grapefruits, a dozen and a half bananas, four loaves of bread, half a pound of butter, six pounds of potatoes, three cans of chili and two of tamales, four pounds of sweet potatoes, a quart of ice cream, a pound of hard candy or five bars of a popular soap.

Speaking of circus showmanship as applied to a daily newspaper: Some fifteen years ago, when I was a reporter in St. Louis, the Sells-Floto Circus came to town, and Tammen, who was the chief impresario of that enterprise, gave an interview on the subject, not to me but to Carlos F. Hurd of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch.* Let me quote a paragraph or two from a yellowed copy in front of me:

The newspaper has to entertain people. Of course, we have to keep them informed, and now and then to expose something, though half the time we may not know what we are talking about.

But the main thing is entertaining, after all. If the reading matter in the paper gets a little dull, there are other ways. Out in Denver we organized a big Boys' Band, and advertised for parents who wanted their boys to learn music. We furnished the uniforms, the instruments and the instruction, and all the parents had to furnish was the boys.

And when they come into our office we show them something different. For instance, the clock is right in the floor, under their feet, and they don't have to look up on the wall for it. Instead, when they look up, they see a motto, "O Justice, when expelled from other habitations, make this thy dwelling place." If a man wants to laugh at the motto, it's all right with us, and if he wants to take it seriously, it's all right for him.

Tammen, big, good-looking, good-tempered, was the

hand-shaker and hail-fellow-well-met of the *Post* until his death in 1926. Any panhandler could be sure of a hand-out from him. Bonfils, a Corsican who boasted that his father's father was a cousin of the Little Corporal, won the respect of Denver by his personal courage and his readiness with a gun. He had a reputation for going all the way in whatever he undertook, from civic enterprises to deals with Harry Sinclair. The *Post* was as often the champion of honest politicians as of crooks. One could never know which way the cat would jump. The paper was the Big Brother of everybody in the Rockies, or posed as that; and its dominant circulation was based on sentimental ignorance as well as adroit showmanship.

After the Senate exposé of the Teapot Dome scandal a Committee of Ethics of the American Newspaper Editors' Society investigated Bonfils and Tammen. It reported that the deal with Sinclair, which followed a prolonged and bitter attack on Secretary Fall and the oil men—and was followed by praise to the face for them—had taken place before the society adopted its high-sounding Code of Ethics. The committee was confronted with the technical difficulty that it could not recommend retroactive discipline for offenders. Yet when this newspaper war came on, Bonfils had no difficulty in procuring an Associated Press franchise for his new morning paper; although the Associated Press has full authority under its by-laws to discipline its members.

The Scripps-Howard group has minced no words in mincing its competitor. Its paper has called the *Post*

"a blackmailing, blackguarding, nauseous sheet which stinks to high heaven and which is the shame of newspaper men the world over." It has called Bonfils a "brigand," a "mountebank" and "a scaly monstrosity." There has been no libel suit. Years ago, when a weekly paper commented with some levity on that motto about Justice and her dwelling place, Bonfils did fume about a libel suit; but Tammen, laughing, said he was too late: he (Tammen) had already wired congratulations. Now the reply Bonfils and his organ make to these fishwife outgivings is of the loftiest tone. Let me quote:

> [The *Post* is a] gladiator invincible, fearless, determined, with a giant's strength, a philosopher's mentality. . . . The champion of every good and pure and holy and righteous cause; and the faithful and unceasing defender of righteousness, justice, decency, law and order . . . the opponent of every wrong and evil thing, of every form of crime, oppression, greed, selfishness and lawlessness.

These are not tabloid picture papers, mind you. The Bonfils papers and the Scripps-Howard papers in Denver are standard size, and presumably actuated by adult standards. But a state of war exists, and there is a return to frontier conditions. Rebecca West has observed acutely of this country that "the mass of the population is in a frontier state of mind." Chicago with its machine-gun bandits and New York with its feud loyalties, its half-naked girls, its jazz, can hardly call the Denver kettle black. To what extent can certain

newspapers be held responsible for frontier conditions and a frontier state of mind?

The Scripps-Howard papers do not resort customarily to circulation methods of the Denver sort. They were in Rome, and did as the Romans did. They fought fire with fire. Elsewhere they have relied, as a rule, on the United Press, the Newspaper Enterprise Association features, and the Washington news supplied by the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, supported by a lively local staff and a forthright editorial policy. Nor are they merely "news merchants"; let us see what some of them have done elsewhere.

IV

Back in 1921 two veteran editors of the staff recommended Knoxville as a site for a Scripps paper for this curious reason—the large number of blue-eyed persons they found there. They reported that they believed a population of that sort would respond to Scripps policies, and they were right. The *News* took a hand with a will, and its circulation registered the approval of its Tennessee constituency. Its most notable fight was against the existing municipal government in Knoxville, which it found to be inefficient and wasteful. The city, highly taxed, was going more deeply into debt. The *News* shocked its readers by proving to them that the manager of the City Hospital skimmed the patients' milk to make egg-nog with confiscated liquor for his cronies. There was more of this kind of thing, but this kind of thing is not new in municipal affairs. The *News* pro-

posed that the city's government be taken out of the hands of politicians, that a city manager be employed, and that the citizens govern themselves. At its suggestion a People's League was organized to draft able men for office. There were mass meetings, a non-partisan ticket was selected, and after a prolonged and bitter fight, the city manager plan became effective.

The fight was not yet done. It was necessary now for the paper which had attracted attention by being "ag'in" the government to show an equal ardor in upholding government. Henry Adams once said that politics consisted in the organization of hatreds; hatreds had been organized in Knoxville against self-seeking in office, waste and corruption. But now it became necessary to organize loyalties. This was a task not so spectacular, and much more wearing. Business men shrank from seeking office and from administering public affairs, because they had a notion that politics involved Eleusinian mysteries, into which only ward leaders had been initiated. They had to be taught that they were more than a match for their former masters. By sticking faithfully to its campaign the *News* established itself in the good graces of the town; and on its fifth birthday it had achieved a position which enabled it to take over its competitor in the evening field, the forty-year-old *Sentinel.*

They have a saying in Knoxville that blue-eyed people like a paper which makes democracy work. But the *News-Sentinel* has its brown-eyed and black-eyed readers by the thousands, too.

Indiana has three Scripps-Howard papers, the Indian-

apolis *Times,* Terre Haute *Post* and Evansville *Press.* All have helped in loosening the grip of the Ku Klux Klan upon the politics of the State, but of the three the *Times* has taken the foremost part, although located where the Klan was strongest. D. C. Stephenson, former Grand Dragon and political boss of the State, was convicted of second-degree murder largely through an exposure engineered by the *Times.* Convinced, after he was sent to jail, that his former pals had deserted him, he smuggled out three letters to Thomas W. Adams, editor of the Vincennes *Commercial,* who had been in the vanguard of the fight against the hooded order. He said he could produce documentary evidence showing enough corruption in official Hoosierdom to "rock the nation." And he did.

The power of the State government was set against exposure of the facts in Stephenson's possession. The Governor and his Prison Board refused to permit Adams or his attorneys to see the prisoner; they refused at first to permit any investigation of his charges. There the case seemed likely to die when the *Times* found a photographer who made affidavit that Stephenson's secretary had taken to him about sixty checks, letters and official documents to be photographed, because the former Grand Dragon wished to scatter copies in safe places, lest his political associates seize the originals. From one of his lawyers the newspaper got a statement that the attorney had seen a huge stack of these documents on the condemned man's cot in jail; there was, for instance, a certain five-thousand-dollar check made to the Governor.

The *Times* demanded and got a grand jury investiga-

tion, and found more than forty-five witnesses to testify. A reporter for the paper unearthed in an Indiana village a package of letters dropped by one of Stephenson's former associates in a wayside restaurant; a woman who held Stephenson's power of attorney and stenographers who had worked for him were routed out.

The Republican State Chairman charged that the Stephenson scandal had been fostered by international bankers, who had raised a fund of eight million dollars for the defeat of United States Senators Watson and Robinson, on the ground that they had voted against the World Court. The *Times* asked Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri, head of the committee on campaign expenditures, to investigate this charge. On the basis of information supplied by the newspaper, Senator Reed conducted hearings in Chicago, St. Louis and Kansas City, and revealed the connection of the Ku Klux Klan with the Indiana Senators.

Meanwhile two successive grand juries had been busy. As a result the Klan-supported Mayor of Indianapolis and the City Comptroller, his brother-in-law, had been accused jointly of a conspiracy to commit a felony. The Mayor was under six other indictments. He was accused, among other things, of failure to report promises to the Marion County Ku Klux Klan that the Klan should have a voice in eighty-five per cent of his appointments, and that he would appoint no Roman Catholic to a responsible post.

That the *Times* was owned by Catholics, and that this was the explanation of its editorial campaign, was one of the charges against it. Roy W. Howard, who is a thirty-

second-degree Mason, made a survey of the newspaper plant and found that every department excepting the composing room happened to be headed by a Mason. He wrote two editorials attacking the Klan, and circulation fell off by sixteen thousand. Klansmen followed the carriers and warned the occupants of homes where the paper was delivered against continuing to receive it. They warned advertisers. It was a costly fight, for a time, but it proved profitable in the long run; for the people of Indianapolis came to have respect for the paper and confidence in it.

The *Times* not only got behind the Vincennes editor in his fight against the Klan, but it got behind George R. Dale, of the Muncie *Post-Democrat,* when Circuit Judge Clarence Dearth threatened thirty-eight newsboys with jail because they were delivering papers containing an attack upon him, and seized their papers. The *Times* demanded that the Judge be impeached. He threatened the editors. The House of Representatives voted impeachment by ninety-three to one, but in the Senate the ouster failed by three ballots of the necessary two-thirds.

While unhorsing the Klan, the Indianapolis *Times* proposed, as a remedy for municipal corruption, the remedy which had been proposed in Knoxville: it asked this city of four hundred thousand to displace Bossism with a City Manager and seven Commissioners. For a long while it carried on this campaign single-handed, and at the end of three years had the satisfaction of recording a vote of five to one in its favor. There were still hurdles to sur-

mount, but the city had set its feet definitely by this vote in the path toward better government.

In Evansville, too, there was a double-header fight—against the Klan and for a city-manager plan of government. The Mayor of the city was supported by the Ku Klux. The Scripps-Howard paper charged that gambling was wide open. The Mayor denied the story.

"There is no gambling in Evansville," he said.

Accepting the challenge, the paper assigned four reporters to it, and they returned with stories of poker, faro and crap games to which they had gained easy access, and in which they had taken part. At the head of each story was the Mayor's statement in italics.

Meanwhile, at the State capital, there was under consideration an amendment to the State law permitting cities to change to the city-manager plan. The amendment provided that if the plan were adopted the incumbent administration should serve out its term. The Evansville *Press* showed that hundreds of the telegrams which flooded the legislators simultaneously, in favor of the amendment, were signed with the names of persons who had given no authorization, that one was the signature of a man who had never sent a telegram in his life, and that three were signed with the names of dead men.

V

I might multiply instances of this sort. Those I have sketched are not the most remarkable: I have chosen them because taken together they present a fair picture. They show that the Scripps-Howard papers have skill, courage

and power. They show that not all the American press is indolent and flabby, as is often charged. They show that there are still "fighting editors" in this land of the free. These papers not only fight on their own account, as I have shown, but they get behind other fighters. Carl C. Magee, who was broken in purse but not in spirit in his fight against the Fall-Bursum political machine in New Mexico, turned to the Scripps-Howard group when he had lost his paper, and was financed by them in a renewal of the fight. The Albuquerque *State Tribune* is now a member of the chain, and is carrying on its exposure of conditions despite threats and contempt proceedings.

In national policy the papers of this chain are a unit. In wet New York City and dry Knoxville, for example, they favor a modification of the Volstead Act. They favored this long before a New York city newspaper was acquired. Editorials on national affairs are sent to all the papers from headquarters, but there is no requirement that any paper shall print any editorial willy-nilly. And in local affairs each editor has free play. He decides for himself what his policy shall be as it affects his own community. He alone is responsible for the consequences. The chain thus represents a sort of confederacy, with local autonomy.

When new properties are purchased, it is the rule to retain the staff as it stands, but to put in editorial charge a man who has been under fire elsewhere in the Scripps-Howard ranks, and so has proved himself. In Denver the choice fell upon a man then in charge of the Birmingham paper; he had been born in Denver, and had served

his apprenticeship there as a carrier, reporter, political writer, city and managing editor. He knew the field, and he knew Scripps-Howard methods from long experience.

In such cases, and on all these newspapers, the editor censors the advertising as well as the news. The perplexing division of authority between the business office and the editorial room, often found in other papers, does not exist here. The editor is the Pooh-Bah. No advertising contract is permitted to influence his judgment as to policy. Nor is he permitted to borrow money in a pinch from the local banker or merchant: whenever Scripps-Howard papers need funds they apply to the parent organization. The Pittsburgh *Press,* recently housed in a four-million-dollar building, executed a mortgage on the property, under the theory that newspapers should stay out of the real estate business, and that the parent corporation could put its funds to better uses; but for current expenses and capital purposes the men in the Scripps-Howard group supply all the money.

At the beginning of 1927 there were more than twelve hundred editors, reporters, copy-readers, advertising men, compositors and other employés as stock-holders in Scripps-Howard investment companies. They owned shares with an approximate value of five millions and an actual value of half as much more. The United Press and the Newspaper Enterprise Association (the feature service) are operated quite independently of the papers, and the editor-in-chief of the papers has no jurisdiction over them and no connection with them. The Scripps-Howard investment companies are pools of stock in va-

rious newspapers of the chain, so grouped as to guard against falling off in dividends when a single newspaper finds itself in financial difficulties. The plan is that such losses shall be more than offset by the success of other papers in the group. The investment companies do not influence the local policies of the papers, each of which has its distinct list of directors. They serve merely as a device to give employés a stable form of investment, and a share in the profits of the organization. The organization is tied together through the stock-holdings of Robert P. Scripps, Roy W. Howard and the E. W. Scripps Company, which is a corporation holding voting control of all the newspapers.

Shares in the investment companies sell for as little as ten dollars. No employé is urged to buy; no promises are made of fabulous profits. It so happens that six investment companies in all have been organized, and that they have paid dividends ranging as high as thirty-six per cent. The first was organized in 1905. All have been oversubscribed. They are the most interesting because the most extensive evidence in the American newspaper world of the modern trend toward employé-partnership in business.

The Scripps papers have improved the standards and the news service in the afternoon field, beyond question; they have supplanted bulletins with compact news coverage, and their competitors have been compelled to follow suit in many instances. They enter with greatest joy that community where other newspapers are lax, and they have vitalized the press in more towns than one. They are the

slaves of no journalistic convention. For many years, as an example, there has been a hide-bound conviction that New York newspapers were a thing apart, and that each man must be specially trained on the spot for service as a reporter or executive in Manhattan. When the *Telegram* changed hands, although the members of its old staff remained on the payroll, outsiders were brought in as city editor, as managing editor, as columnists. To veteran New York newspaper men this was an astonishing, a revolutionary move. Yet the *Telegram* was sensibly brighter and livelier by reason of the presence on its staff of men who had not grown blasé, and who brought a fresh viewpoint, unhampered by traditions, to the metropolis.

One of the new men was M. E. Tracy, who had been a columnist for years on the Houston *Chronicle,* under M. E. Foster. Both are now in the Scripps-Howard ranks. Foster has become editor of the *Press* in Houston, and after the City Council had permitted an increase in the gas rate which would have cost the average householder twenty-two dollars a year, printed a series of editorials and articles showing that the new price meant a gross profit of 250 per cent to the gas company, and forced in one week a restoration of the old rate. Tracy, after he came to New York, explained that he had learned as an opponent to admire Scripps policies.

"These papers have no tail to wag the dog," he said, "no business or political ambitions to promote, no outside interests for which to prostitute themselves."

VI

The why of the Scripps-Howard newspapers should be somewhat clearer by now, but the question of chain ownership remains a little obscure. Granting that each editor has local autonomy, what of financial overlordship? What of competition? What of the possibility that public opinion may be regimented through these great instruments?

The trend to chain ownership is unmistakable. In the four years, 1923-27, as we have seen, the number of chains doubled and the number of newspapers so controlled increased by more than fifty per cent. Large purchases of the principal raw material, newsprint; the higher executive salaries made possible by group management; and the economies in the production of entertainment features, give to this form of ownership distinct advantages. The advantages apply, it has been estimated, to about forty per cent of the budget. Now that journalism is recognized as a large business enterprise, it is inevitable that newspapers must seek a foundation more secure than the pyrotechnic personality of a Watterson or the eloquence of a Henry Grady. They have found security by grounding themselves on economic law.

The economic overlordship involved need be no drawback if the local publisher or editor is freed from the tyranny of local creditors. When one familiarizes himself with the financial obligations of "independent" papers in towns of one to five hundred thousand population, he is disquieted by their implications. The local banker or

Chamber of Commerce president or realty operator may not hold bonds, and may not be a part owner, but if he holds promissory notes he is likely to make his influence felt in shaping policies.

Competition, then? There is Springfield, Mass., where all the dailies are dominated by the Bowles group. But in the case of the Scripps-Howard papers I have not found any instance where competition has been stifled. It cannot be said that in Denver or Knoxville or Indianapolis the community's freedom of expression has been impaired. This cannot be said, so far as I can learn, in any city where a Scripps-Howard paper is published. Indeed, I fancy that these papers would be most unhappy amid the languor of an uncontested field. They thrive on competition. The fear that such growths may choke out all other publications seems, for the present at least, as little founded as was the fear that chain shops would do away altogether with small individual shops.

There is standardization mechanically and physically. Chain newspapers must be of the same size as one another, and must use pretty much the same technical processes. This is the same sort of standardization which Secretary Hoover is putting into effect through his efforts in the Department of Commerce. And there is standardization of the entertainment features, which can hardly be denounced so long as it makes possible a superior product, and puts the product within the reach of communities which, otherwise, must do without.

In the Scripps-Howard group we have this picture: The dominating influence is editorial, as it should be, and the

business office is subordinate; such private interests as might call for the coloring of news are eliminated; financial stability and independence are secured by reductions in the cost of management and editorial content; there is local autonomy and a fighting spirit. These are a heritage from Old Man Scripps. And it is plain that under the present management the legacy is not being dissipated, but is being conserved. In the four years after 1920 the chain increased its business by one hundred and fifty per cent, and its circulation since 1920 has risen from eight hundred thousand to more than two and a half millions. Plain speaking and hard hitting have cost dearly in particular places and at particular times, but in the long run they have made headway. Accuracy in news, liberalism without fanaticism, tolerance and independence in day-to-day journalism, appear to pay dividends.

CHAPTER XII

RADIO AS A RIVAL

A New Channel of News and Advertising

I

BELATEDLY and a little bitterly, newspaper publishers have awakened to the rivalry of radio. They might possibly have taken their cue back in the nineties, when Marconi began telegraphing by wireless, for it was but a step from telegraphy to telephony, and but a step further to broadcasting. When Horace Greeley witnessed a demonstration of the "magnetic" telegraph he said to Morse: "You are going to turn the newspaper office upside down with your invention." Wireless telegraphy boded an even more noteworthy revolution, but apparently there was no Horace Greeley to foresee it.

Even when the manufacture of radio receiving sets achieved the status of an industry, in 1920, newspaper publishers slumbered in fancied security. Even while the industry, during the next five years, multiplied its sales three hundredfold, they refused to heed the alarm clock. Not until five million families began to gather about the loud speaker did the publishers as a body yawn, stretch themselves and ask what it was all about. The answer was that it was all about entertainment, news and advertising. It was all about their own field—about and above it.

The awakening was embittered because the publishers had taken this novelty to their bosoms and nourished it. They treated it as news, because of its newness, and they nourished it because they wanted the advertising accounts of its manufacturers. And then radio bit the hand which had fed it. "Space in the air," at a price as high as four thousand dollars an hour, began competing with the white space of newsprint. Department stores maintained their own stations: that dreaded upstart, the "daily shopping news," ascended from the printed dodger to the upper atmospheres. There came into being the advertising agency specializing in the aerial billboard. About radio advertisements there is this disadvantage, that they must be used chiefly for the promotion of good-will, rather than for direct selling appeal. But they have the incalculable power of constant iteration.

And the ingrate sold its advertising, even as the publishers sold their papers, by wearing the cap and bells. It staged vaudeville and grand opera, crop reports and Chautauquas. As an entertainer it stood head and shoulders above the newspapers. What printed page could carry the magic of Martinelli's voice? Even more readily than the Sunday rotogravure section or the tabloid picture paper, it reached the illiterate as well as the literate. If it is easier to look at pictures than read, how much easier to listen!

Nor is there any longer a "natural monopoly" of the day's tidings. Summaries of local news, Stock Exchange reports, the weather forecast, speeches of the President, the proceedings of national conventions and bulletins of

big news events resounded to listening myriads before the newspapers could get them into type. One did not merely read what the President *had said,* one *heard him say it.* The broadcaster described sport events as they happened, and his announcements cut in severely on newspaper sales. Just as London publishers found that when their posters told too much about news events, circulation fell off, so American publishers found that readers lost interest in certain kinds of news when the bloom had been taken from it by the radio.

The prestige of the press as the Pooh-Bah of the daily field was impaired. Its revenue from the sale of papers and from the sale of white space was curtailed. Another channel of communication and information had been created almost overnight.

II

Now, when the publisher rubbed his eyes and looked closely at his paper he found that he was not only giving reams of free space to radio but—how sharper than a serpent's tooth!—free space to the radio advertisers. Who, for instance, were the Ipana Troubadours, billed in the programs which he printed free? Who were they, indeed, but the hirelings of a tooth-paste manufacturer! And what was the Eveready Hour? It was the advertisement of a safety razor. Radio batteries, insect poisons, typewriters, hotels, ginger ales, candy shops, cough drops, Persian rugs, chain grocery stores, automobile tires, shoe polishes, talking machines—what not?—enjoyed their little moment in the air and it was paid for,

but for mention in the papers there was not a farthing. Worse, the publisher learned that solicitors of radio advertising accounts promised their clients newspaper publicity which the clients couldn't wheedle, as a rule, from solicitors of newspaper advertising.

As a rule, but not always. The automobile advertiser and the advertiser of stocks and bonds could demand, with success, that a free "reading notice" be printed about a new model or a new bond issue. So could some others. The publisher reflected sourly that this radio publicity was eating up more space than the free motor publicity. If he ran a special automobile section on Saturday or Sunday, as an outlet for this stuff—and to hold his advertisers—did he not find it necessary to run an even larger radio section? Yet he had been printing the names of commercial commodities so long in radio programs that his readers had got accustomed to them. He might lose circulation if he were suddenly to cut them out. And so, wringing his hands, he meditated miserably on his predicament.

Papers like the Washington *Star* and the Chicago *Tribune,* which long before had manifested the hardihood to quit giving away news space with automobile and financial advertising contracts, faced no dilemma. They promptly cut trade names out of their radio programs. But even when the American Newspaper Publishers Association, comprising more than five hundred of the largest dailies, issued a warning to its members, by unanimous resolution, they could not range a united front against the competing medium.

In New York city, where the publishers' association ex-

ercises its greatest power, all the papers of general circulation were brought to a point, after months of labor, where they agreed not to mention the Ipana Troubadours as such, but to edit the radio program throughout. If tooth pastes and shoe polishes wanted mention they must cross the publisher's palm for it. They came firmly to this decision, and acted upon it, after considering prayerfully the facts and figures as compiled for them by *Editor and Publisher*. The figures showed that morning newspapers had got a little more than two hundred and fifty pages of radio advertising in the first half of 1926, and the evening papers about four hundred and eighty pages; whereas the two of them had given eight hundred and thirty-three pages to radio programs alone during that period. This was quite aside from the thousands of columns devoted to technical discussions, reviews of broadcasting, studio gossip and puffs for "stars." The New York publishers, in the centre of a compact radio market, carried the largest volume of advertising of any group in the United States; and yet their account, as reckoned in pages against the space for programs, was shown to be 730 to 833.

"The scales are badly overbalanced against the newspaper on the space account alone," said *Editor and Publisher*. "Add to that the fact that the broadcasting stations are using this gigantic gift of newspaper space to line their own pockets with money which should be spent in the newspaper columns and the picture is not one to give comfort to the newspaper publisher."

The general elision of identifying trade names from

radio programs in New York papers brought a howl of protest from readers, by mail and by telephone, but the publishers stuck to it. The advertisers who paid for "space on the air" felt aggrieved that they got no free by-product from the press. The president of a concern manufacturing billiard tables wrote to some twenty managing editors in New York and elsewhere.

Last Friday evening the second act of the opera "Faust," as sung by the Chicago Opera Company, was broadcast throughout the country over twenty-eight stations. The entire cost of this broadcasting was underwritten by our company, and we regret to say that your story in the Saturday morning issue did not carry our name. . . . We trust that you will see fit to give us recognition in some form for our efforts to bring grand opera into the homes of the United States.

The managers of broadcasting stations did not taunt the newspaper publishers with the free "write-ups" accorded in connection with certain advertising contracts. They struck at a spot even more vital. Why, they asked in simulated bewilderment, should the press give twenty or thirty or forty columns in a single issue to a commercial enterprise like prize-fighting or horse-racing, and yet refuse a single line to a commercial concern broadcasting the lilting of troubadours or the second act of "Faust"? Which was charged with the greater public interest?—to say nothing of uplift. The publishers had no reply to this. There was no reply they could make; for they did not wish to put themselves on record as ballyhooing paid sports in order to build a shady circulation. One of

them, printing what purported to be a verbatim radio account of a prize-fight, actually edited out of it the name of the Royal typewriter, mentioned at intervals by the broadcaster in acknowledgment of the fact that its manufacturer had paid to get the account to listeners-in—and to that newspaper!

The publishers were not only angry, they were frightened.

"There need be no fear," said the president of a broadcasting company soothingly, "that radio will take the place of the newspaper or destroy it. There need be no fear of conflict or competition. We discuss with our clients or their advertising agencies whether they are advertising in the newspapers. We advise them to tie up newspaper and magazine advertising with their sponsored radio programs."

But the publishers knew that a Newark department store, which owned its own station, calculated that it had received thus a million dollars' worth of publicity, many times what the station had cost to buy and operate; they knew that every broadcasting station was watching advertising appropriations and competing for them; they knew that the lure of this competition had penetrated even to staid banking concerns, and that a Cleveland trust company had made use of radio advertising for two years, and counted it highly profitable. They were frightened, and they stood fast.

This situation was disturbed by the entry into the New York field of the Scripps-Howard group, when it bought the afternoon *Telegram*. In a page advertisement it announced: "The New York *Telegram* now presents its

radio programs in a complete, sane, understandable form. *Telegram* radio programs make it possible for readers to identify their favorite radio features and artists by name."

Straightway upon the appearance of this rebel in their ranks, the other publishers abandoned the censorship they had imposed four months before on radio programs. They could not compete with a paper which had no radio inhibitions.

An executive of the Scripps-Howard group broadcast the reasons for its attitude.

It grew [he said] out of a belief that several million radio listeners of the New York section were being compelled by the New York papers to grope in the dark. . . . This despite the fact that New York City is the fountainhead of the best radio programs in the world. . . . Imagine a method of baseball reporting which instead of naming Babe Ruth in the lineup would merely say, "outfielder." Entertainers were announced and then you were left to guess the identity of the entertainers. Instead of Eveready Hour you read that soloists would perform. . . . The New York *Telegram* contends that it is the simple duty of the newspaper to tell the news. It believes that the news of radio has not been told under the system of labelling the "Happiness Boys" as entertainers merely, or the "A. & P. Gypsies" as stringed music. . . . The custom of being secretive and mysterious about who will perform on the radio is hereby ended so far as the New York *Telegram* is concerned.

It was ended also so far as other New York newspapers were concerned. The publishers reinstated to their columns the free publicity for shoe blacking and safety razors.

And they wondered woefully what they were going to do about the radio as a vehicle of news.

III

Merely to glance at conditions abroad was disquieting. In Russia the distribution of news by radio had reached a greater development than elsewhere; the official agency was serving about one hundred and seventy newspapers in all parts of the Soviet Republic. And in England the British Broadcasting Company, under government supervision, enjoyed a monopoly with extraordinary powers. It could "compile and prepare, print, publish, issue, circulate and distribute, gratis or otherwise, papers, magazines, books, circulars, etc., as may seem conducive to the objects of the corporation, and collect news of, and information relating to, current events in any part of the world, and in any manner that may be thought fit, and establish or subscribe to news agencies."

Lord Riddell, an English publisher, one of the first to resent this encroachment on the province of the press, asked whether it was to the advantage of the nation to cultivate a listening in preference to a reading habit. The tabloid picture papers, which flourished in London first, were an answer: Lord Northcliffe had been reproached for publishing in this form a newspaper for persons who could not read. Lord Riddell complained that the broadcasting monopoly paid but forty thousand dollars a year for its news bulletins, whereas the newspapers which had to meet its competition spent twenty millions. American publishers concluded that it was time for them to take action.

The publishers' association and the Associated Press brought their influence to bear against radio news; the association could do no more than issue a warning; the press agency forbade its members to supply or utilize its news for broadcasting.

These precautions could not avail against the United Press, owned by the recalcitrant Scripps-Howard group, nor against Hearst's International News. They could not avail with newspapers which owned their radio stations, or leased part time on the air. The Chicago *Daily News,* for instance, owned two of the foremost stations, and maintained an all-day program; the Boston *Evening Transcript* owned and operated its own "studio" and the Boston *Globe* broadcast news four times daily over another. At the beginning of 1927 nearly one hundred daily papers owned or leased radio broadcasting facilities; these included the Birmingham *Age-Herald,* the Washington *Herald,* the Atlanta *Journal,* the Los Angeles *Express* and the *Times;* in San Francisco the *Call* and the *Chronicle,* in Chicago the *Journal* and the *Tribune,* in Indianapolis the *Times* and the *News;* the New Orleans *Item-Tribune,* the Baltimore *News,* the Detroit *News;* in Kansas City the *Star-Times* and *Journal-Post,* in St. Louis, the *Post-Dispatch* and *Star,* in Cincinnati the *Times-Star,* in Pittsburgh the *Press* and *Post,* in Dallas the *Dispatch* and *Journal,* in Houston the *Post-Dispatch* and *Chronicle,* in Seattle the *Post-Intelligencer* and *Times;* the Milwaukee *Journal,* and the San Antonio *Express & News.*

Against such an array the attempt of a few fearful spirits to keep news out of the air proved unavailing. The

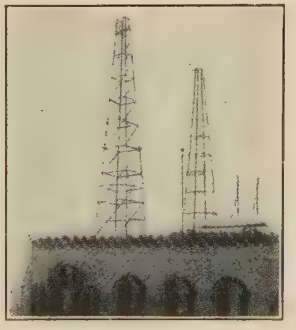
All-Day Broadcasting—Finer Programs
Leadership in National Radio Advertising

THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS has taken over the complete management of station WQJ, owned by the Calumet Baking Powder Company, and now operates this station in conjunction with The Daily News station WMAQ, with exclusive 24-hour rights to the wave length 447.5 meters.

The operation of two of America's foremost stations with a unified all-day program is welcomed by Chicago people and the radio public generally as another great advance typical of the five-year record of The Daily News in promoting the interests of radio

WMAQ, the first newspaper-owned radio station in Chicago, equipped now with its *third* sending apparatus, has earned a reputation for fine programs that will be richly enhanced by the added facilities of station WQJ. The two stations are members of the chain of the National Broadcasting Company. The program schedule throughout will be one of highest quality and interest.

By advancing every interest of radio, on the air and in its columns, The Daily News has attained a popularity with Chicago fans reflected in its leadership six days a week in national radio advertising—it is the most effective daily medium for radio manufacturers and dealers in reaching the Chicago public.



Arrangements to participate in the broadcasting schedule of The Chicago Daily News may be made by addressing Director, WMAQ, The Chicago Daily News, 15 North Wells St., Chicago, Ill.

THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

Member of The 100,000 Group of American Cities

Advertising Representatives:	NEW YORK J. B. Woodward 110 E. 42d St.	CHICAGO Woodward & Kelly 360 N. Michigan Ave.	DETROIT Woodward & Kelly Fine Arts Building	SAN FRANCISCO C. Geo. Krogness 253 First National Bank Bldg.

*Average Daily Net Paid Circulation for February, 1927—447,762

Radio offers a mass audience, and fat advertising accounts. This newspaper leads the field in the quest of both.

new instrument, moreover, demonstrated a certain quality superior to the telegraph and cable. The International News Service reported that a cabled message to its correspondent with the Liberal forces in Nicaragua was stopped by the censor, but that the same message, sent by wireless, had reached him and had brought a prompt reply. And when service in the American Middle West by telephone and telegraph had been deranged by a sleet storm, radio stepped capably into the breach.

Obviously the scope of radio as a news carrier was limited. It could not be expected to report legal decisions and much other weighty matter. Against that the fact was set off that it did not report scandal nor exploit bathing beauties. The program manager of the national radio chain said: "We picture the typical radio audience as composed of the man, his wife and their children, seated in the parlor of their home. We could not broadcast scandal and crime to them and survive. You can lock your door against the 'scandal' newspaper, not against radio."

There is just as effective a barrier to radio as to other forms of communication: a twirl of the dial cuts off offensive broadcasting. But there is a possibility that the discrimination manifested by program managers may have its sobering effect on news editors.

Sometimes radio program managers act as censors in such a way as to rouse antagonism. One of them substituted a church vesper service for Victor Berger's views on Socialism, cutting in on his speech. Representative Emanuel Celler's remarks on George Washington were

censored in advance, by substituting the word "wager" for "gamble," "by heaven" for "by God," and by deleting the statement that the Father of his Country occasionally lied, as well as that he liked good wine and bought rum for his constituents. To "Spread Eagle," a play calculated to show that war with Mexico might be precipitated by capitalist interests, an aerial outlet was forbidden. There have been many such instances; and Congressman Celler says that their multiplication will mean an even stricter censorship than is provided by the present law governing broadcasting.

IV

Newspaper publishers took a hand in influencing the formulation of the law which set up a Radio Commission. This commission of five, appointed by the President, can silence any station by revoking its license. It has power to insist that each station keep a record of all speeches delivered from it. There is no provision for censorship before the fact, but the commission has the power of suppression after the fact, and may exercise as great an authority over the spoken word in the air as the Postmaster-General exercises over the printed word in the mails.

There is no regulation against advertising, nor against the dissemination of news; and there is no tax imposed on publicity even when it gives retail prices, as some radio advertising now does. This may have been a disappointment to the Radio Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, which played, its chairman re-

ported, "an important part in shaping the destinies of the art and science of radio during the past year"—that is, while the radio bill was being drawn and passed. Walter A. Strong, the chairman, was at the head of a committee which opened headquarters in Washington and got its views before Congress. The other members were the president of the Radio Manufacturers' Association, the executive manager of the National Association of Broadcasters, the president of the Federated Radio Trades Association, the president of the Radio Magazine Publishers' Association, the vice-president of the American Radio Relay League, and the chairman of the radio section of the National Electrical Manufacturers' Association. It was called a coördinating committee, to furnish a basis for legislation. "The fact that the compromise bill to a very large extent follows the recommendations of the coördinating committee," said Chairman Strong, "is in itself significant."

The regulation of radio was thus taken out of the Department of Commerce, where Secretary Herbert Hoover's management has proved ineffective and unsatisfactory. Congress, itself incompetent to cope with the weighty problems involved, passed them on characteristically to a commission. It had done this in the case of transportation, telegraph and telephone communications, the tariff, trade competition, commerce, oil, water and so on; and its action in regard to radio but added another to an enormous agglomeration of "independent executive" bureaucracies in Washington, combining two or more of those three

powers of Government which the Founding Fathers fondly fancied would be kept forever separate.

The new commission set about straightening out the chaos which had prevailed in broadcasting, and won praise at the outset by its disposition to keep hands off programs. The broadcasters promised to regulate themselves in that direction. The National Broadcasting Company, which dominated the field, put itself on record as recognizing its obligation to the public, and asserted that it would broadcast impartially both sides of controversial questions. Whether this arrangement would prove more satisfactory than the open governmental censorship practised in Russia and Great Britain was open to question. The fact remained that this new channel of information about public affairs was even more strictly supervised than the newspapers.

V

The first radio newspaper, so called, was published at a dinner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in a New York hotel. On sheets tacked to the walls of the banquet hall radio bulletins were written and pictures were reproduced from London, Honolulu and elsewhere. There were interviews and formal statements from distinguished personages. There were no advertisements, except in so far as the occasion served to advertise the institute and the news possibilities of radio. But the occasion warrants a forecast of what may come.

Milton Garges, an executive of the Associated Press, visions the time when one may subscribe for what he

calls the "home-printed newspaper." The automatic printing machine, operated by radio and turning out news broadcast from a central station, is held to be but a step away. The next move anticipated is a method of facsimile transmission, so that a picture or a page of printed or typewritten material may be sent to a receiving machine and there recorded. "For some time," says Mr. Garges, "only minor difficulties have stood in the way of sending whole pages of newspapers from one continent to another." Instead of buying one's paper at a newsstand, why not have it printed, folded and ready in the household of a morning or an evening? That would mean scrapping the huge printing plants and abandoning the clumsy distributing systems now maintained by the daily press. And in view of all that has happened in radio, it does not seem a fantastic forecast.

But those who discuss this possibility assume that newspapers, as now constituted, will continue to be the centres of the world's news system. There is nothing, apparently, to prevent the distribution of pictures, information and advertisements from other sources or under other auspices. The owners of patents which promise to make it possible to see and hear events while they are happening, as well as to have an illustrated account of them printed in the home, are under no present compulsion to license newspaper owners alone in their use. The press has given no substantial encouragement to them. The radio may mean a far greater revolution than Horace Greeley, musing over a private exhibition of the magnetic telegraph, foresaw—and accurately—in the press of his day. In time

it may mean not only revolution but extinction. To contemplate such a contingency, whatever the faults of the metropolitan newspaper, must bring forebodings. Its successor, if the radio brings one, will be even more highly centralized, even more easily controlled.

VI

The National Broadcasting Company, representing the most powerful radio interests in the United States, already has the prospect, if it has not achieved the fact, of an effective monopoly. The interests it embraces have arrangements with similar interests abroad for international communications. If there is ever a world monopoly, it is likely to come first in this field, and it will be of vital consequence to the press. Yet we do not find that the press is bestirring itself to get at the facts or reveal them. This is characteristic. It offered no protest when international news agencies parcelled out the world among themselves prior to the World War. The Associated Press agreed with the Havas Agency, semi-official representative of the French Government, Reuter's of Great Britain, Wolff of Germany, Stefani of Italy, in attempting to establish an apportionment of the globe among themselves.

Even in 1927, at the press-association conference called by the League of Nations at Geneva, the Associated Press joined the "Allied News Agencies," comprising these organs of foreign governments. Their function was defined as follows by M. Zaleski, the Foreign Minister of Poland: "The news agencies which you direct are charged

with the task of communicating to the public the intentions of your governments. You are, therefore, to a certain extent, organs which supplement the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, which, without your efficacious aid, would be deaf instruments devoid of resonance or echo." If the American press winks at a situation such as this, and at the involvement of its oldest news agency therein, it can hardly be expected to inform its public about the situation with regard to radio.

So far as the National Broadcasting Company was concerned, the press not only offered no protest against its domination of the field, but lent a hand at Washington, as we have seen, in making its domination more secure. Half the concern was owned by the Radio Corporation of America, thirty per cent by the General Electric Company and twenty per cent by the Westinghouse Electric Company. The electric companies manufacture radio sets and the radio corporation is their chief customer. It was asserted that the hook-up arranged by the broadcasting company for some events made it possible for fifty million persons to listen in on a single time. For this purpose wires were leased from the American Telegraph and Telephone Company or its subsidiaries, under a contract which cost for the first year a million and a half. The expenses for artists, announcers, advertising and so on were such that at the middle of 1927 it faced a deficit for the year of $800,000.

The reasons given for spending this money without fiscal return were that the company wished to maintain the demand for radio apparatus, and wished to maintain

what one of its officers called "a magazine of the air." It was denied, at a hearing of the Federal Radio Commission, that the company competed with the newspapers. As for the newspapers, they said contentedly that the radio probably would not live up to its promises any more than the motion picture had done, and that entertainment, not news, must continue to be its mainstay.

The threatened monopolization of the air makes it unlikely that radio will afford a medium for full and free accounts of what is happening in the world, or will become a trustworthy basis of public opinion. The future of wireless telegraphy and telephony, however, is still on the knees of the gods. The industries are young, and means for their control in the public interest may possibly be devised.

There is less hope of an unhampered expression by means of the motion picture, which is also a potential opinion-making force. The "news-reel" in the movie house has been censored from the first. The war play of which I have spoken—"Spread Eagle"—as having been barred from a radio outlet, was barred also from motion-picture presentation. Will H. Hays, "czar" of the movies, refused to give an explanation of this, other than that the play was not suitable. Mr. Hays and various movie magnates have been sworn in with army titles, by the United States Army, as officers of the Signal Corps motion-picture advisory council, and there is the promise of more and more screen offerings of distinctly military flavor. So long as the War Department can influence the men who make motion-picture policy it will command a useful ad-

junct for spreading the propaganda of preparedness and militarism. The chairman of the radio commission is a former Admiral, and the President of the Radio Corporation of America is a former general of the United States Army.

As for the daily press, its policy toward junkerism is sufficiently indicated (despite its loud-spoken professions of international friendship) by the space it devotes to sham battles and costly practice invasions by the fleet, by its instant seizure upon transoceanic flights as an argument for a bigger navy and more airplanes, and by its attention editorially to all matters affecting the army.

As things stand the public can hardly look to the motion picture or the radio for more reliable information than it gets from the press. It has other sources, however, and is building still more as time goes on. One source long in existence is the independent weekly publication, which often prints news never to be found in the daily press, and which is not beholden to its advertisers to any such extent as the newspaper. The "liberal" weeklies, it must be said in fairness, are less likely to admit to their columns opinions with which they are not in sympathy than are many daily newspapers. No one, Walter Pritchard Eaton has observed, is so illiberal as a radical. But they serve among publications much the purpose that William E. Borah has served in the United States Senate: they exercise an influence out of proportion to their number, and act as foci of heathful criticism. They are not prosperous, because the note of dissent seldom attracts the

advertiser, and because there seems to be no large audience in this country for courageous outspokenness.

VII

There are agencies of independent investigation, and they promise to increase as the public realizes their usefulness. The Federal Council of Churches has done conspicuous work in revealing to the people of the United States facts which they could not get from the newspapers. One of the consequences was that the Council was labelled Bolshevist, and that the charge was taken up by the press as a convenient method of creating unreasoned prejudice. There was no difficulty in refuting the charge, and there is little likelihood that it did much damage, although it persisted for years. Information about industrial and social conditions and about educational methods is gathered also by agencies for the great foundations created by American mutimillionaires; but this information tends to collect in libraries, without becoming as widely diffused as is necessary for general usefulness. The commercial, industrial and social polity which made possible the accumulation of immense wealth is being examined inch by inch, because the accumulations of wealth were too vast to be put to personal uses; the accumulations are being devoted in part (their chief beneficiaries having died) to the investigation of commercial, industrial and social maladjustments and inequities.

At Washington there are various organizations, some of them on a commercial basis, some maintained by groups and organizations, which undertake to tell facts about

legislation and administration usually ignored by the newspapers. There are research agencies which, when Washington correspondents spread rumors that a governmental policy of thrift is hurting business, for instance, can get at the facts and counteract the rumors. There are other agencies equipped to present the facts, to those who want them, about the work of the various commissions, about the practices of governmental departments and bureaus, and so on. These facts are not distributed to the public, but to groups or concerns which ask for them, and which as a rule must pay for the work involved. That such agencies exist is proof that there is need for them. It is proof that a certain part of the public, restless and suspicious of regimented news, is finding other ways of informing itself.

CHAPTER XIII

PRIESTLINESS IN THE PRESS

Like the Church in Pretences and Functions

I

IN the chapter on "Journalism as Big Business," the tradition of the press as "an instrument divinely ordained and anointed" was noted; and in the chapter on the Scripps-Howard papers the advice of the elder Scripps that his son devote himself to "the service of the plain people" was set down. There have been other evidences from time to time, as we went along, that daily journalism partook of a reformative and regenerative character. From the first its history has been identified more or less closely with the history of the church in this country, and there has been occasional friction between the two, as was inevitable in such close association.

Ministers of the gospel, when they address editors, are wont to dwell upon the similarity of their missions in the salvation of the world. It is not strange, therefore, that editors themselves should think of their work as a thing somewhat apart from sheer secular endeavor. We hear constantly of the editorial sanctum, and the phrase has its place in our dictionaries; but we do not hear of surgical sanctums nor legal sanctums nor medical sanctums, because no such sacredness attaches in popular

thought to these professions. In the tendency to set itself apart the press is not peculiar; Big Business arrogates to itself a certain sanctity and immunity from criticism; so does the Government; so do the Ku Klux and the Rotary. The itch to claim a share in divinity is a mortal symptom. In the press it has been engendered and intensified by the early assumption that newspapers were the voice of the People, and everybody knows that the voice of the People is the voice of God; by the circumstances of its struggle for power and prosperity; by the kind of instruments which fell to its hand and by the technique it developed in the use of these instruments.

Lord Bryce said of E. L. Godkin that "he had not the disposition to enthrone the press which made a great English newspaper once claim for itself that it discharged in the modern world the function of the mediæval church." Nevertheless the New York *Evening Post,* of which Godkin was editor, carried at its masthead then, and carries to this day, a claim of authority "to inculcate just principles of religion, morals and politics." Presumably it fell to Godkin during his régime to determine just what principles of morals and religion were just.

The *Evening Post* was founded some ten years after the adoption of the Constitutional guarantee, sponsored by Jefferson, that the freedom of the press should not be abridged; and in its first issue the paper announced its mission. Jefferson observed about that time that "editors, like the clergy, live by the zeal they can kindle and the schisms they can create; it is a contest in politics as well as in religion that makes us take a great interest in

them, and bestow our money liberally on those who furnish aliment for our appetite."

The press, when he said this, was primarily a vehicle of partisan opinion, as it is not now. It was at that time avowedly one with Church and State in regimenting the community. In Jefferson's Virginia the Episcopal faith was established by local law. Those who think that this country was mainly a refuge of religious freedom forget that our first settlers had an Established Church, the church of the mother country, and that throughout the South every colony followed suit. Nor did this interfere so seriously with the movement toward revolt as might be supposed. Loyalists were fewer in the South, before and during the Revolution, than its religious complexion would seem to have warranted, and this without a considerable help from newspapers. The planters feared to lose their claims to western lands, they were deeply in debt to English creditors; they eagerly demanded self-government. Of one hundred Episcopal clergymen in Virginia thirty-four were reputed to be patriots, eleven others served on Committees of Safety, one represented his county in the House of Burgesses and one became a Major-General. Only thirteen were openly on the side of George III and the Church of England.

It was those who pioneered New England, after Jamestown had been settled, that were of the non-conformist type. Seeking religious liberty they burned witches and cut off the ears of visiting Quakers. Puritan orthodoxy was a condition of taking part in town affairs; and here, as in the South, there was a Governmental trinity of

Church, State and Press. For the dissenter, as the Reverend Howard Chandler Robbins reminds us, there remained only the prison, the lash and the branding iron. When journalism was young in the land it was identified thus with these other institutions.

And editors still live, as in Jefferson's day, by the zeal they can kindle, even though the zeal be not controversial. The Chicago *Tribune* says editorially that the newspaper "must, like the parish priest, be guide, counsellor and friend"; that it can better realize "its real mission" the more closely it approximates "the ideal of the clergyman in his ministrations to his flock." Walter Lippmann notes that the work of reporters has become confused with the work of preachers and revivalists. A Doctor of Divinity tells us that printer's ink is the greatest evangel of the spiritual life, and the head of a School of Journalism compares an editorial writer to a potential religious leader.

II

The church concerns itself mainly with the future, and in particular with the hereafter; whereas the press is concerned mainly with the present. And the status of the clergyman is strictly professional, whereas there is ground for dispute as to the professional status of the daily journalist. Against these main points of difference may be set a great many points at which the two resemble each other closely. Both have been subjected by the laity to attack. The press is more roundly criticized to-day than ever before, and often the criticism is ill-informed, unfair and diffuse. That so many have taken up arms against a

sea of pulpwood is an evidence of its importance in our day-to-day lives.

Sweeping denunciations of the press are sometimes made without supporting evidence. To assert baldly that newspapers are commercialized, without showing precisely the character and financial extent of their commercial interest; to denounce them as capitalistic without uncovering the bases of their capital structure; to charge that they are channels of press-agentry and propaganda without revealing specifically how they are imposed upon, and to what extent they have encouraged imposition; to draw a blanket indictment without names, facts or figures, and so to invite every editor to cry aloud, Thank God I am not as one of these, is the common practice of hostile publicists. It must be said that there are some monthly magazines which encourage this style of attack; they themselves rely upon the daily press for free publicity; by withholding specifications they hope to save from the waste-basket their clip-sheets, which are distributed to newspapers for gratuitous publication. One managing editor has observed that covert attacks of this sort "bear upon their faces not a little evidence of being inspired by the belief that in just such measure as faith in the daily newspaper can be broken down, so far a new field has been created for the periodical press. This is mere competitors' selling talk and not to be taken seriously."

No generalized statement about the American press can be entirely true. Its constituents are as varied in character, purpose and methods as the representatives of any other business. They become homogeneous only when subjected

to the same economic, social and traditional pressures. It may be said that all are subdued to the dye they work in; but to indict the whole press, or the "average" of the press, metropolitan, small-town and rural, whether conservative or sensational, not only fails to carry conviction, but is likely to lead to extravagance. Consider, for instance, this from the pen of H. L. Mencken:

What I desire to say is simply this: that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the average American newspaper, even of the so-called better sort, is not only quite as bad as Dr. Sinclair says it is, but ten times worse—ten times as ignorant, ten times as unfair and tyrannical, ten times as complaisant and pusillanimous, and ten times as devious, hypocritical, disingenuous, deceitful, pharisaical, pecksniffian, fraudulent, slippery, unscrupulous, perfidious, lewd and dishonest.

Alas, alas! I understate it horribly. The average American newspaper, especially of the better sort, has the intelligence of a Baptist evangelist, the courage of a rat, the fairness of a prohibitionist boob-jumper, the information of a high school janitor, the taste of a designer of celluloid valentines and the honor of a police-station lawyer.

To that no editor need enter a disclaimer. No newspaper can possibly live down to all the eighteen adjectives this writer gleaned from his Thesaurus. Yet such mouthings are stimulated by the press, when it arrogates to itself the privilege of criticizing all and sundry, but holds itself to be above reproach.

III

It is partly owing to resentment of criticism that daily papers suppress news about libel suits. There is the fear of course that publication of the facts may suggest to others that they have remediable grievances, and there is also the fact that publication is a confession of fault-finding. Seldom, unless newspapers are victorious in such actions, do they give space to them. Yet when three acquitted defendants in a notorious murder trial entered suits against a single paper, most of the others displayed the news (as was noted in the chapter on the tabloids), some at the top of the first page. The journal defendant in that case was the New York *Daily Mirror,* a despised picture paper; and its big brothers by this method repudiated their kinship. The tabloids are the Modernists, the eight-column papers the Fundamentalists of journalistic faith. Both worship the same gods; they differ in their liturgy. Warfare between them is inevitable.

The history of newspapers as of religions is a history of constant conflict. The holy war in Denver, the war on Bennett and the Hearst-Pulitzer war were examples of what is in truth a chronic clash. In Denver we hear an echo of the cry uttered by the elder Bennett, that Modernist of the Seventeenth Century; "I will never abandon the cause of truth, morals and virtue," he declaimed, when assaulted physically by a Fundamentalist editor. "I am the champion of every good and pure and holy and righteous cause," cries Fred G. Bonfils when his pulpit

is tottering. Creedal antagonism has marked every stage of American journalism.

When threatened by a common foe, differences of creed are usually forgotten. There is a tacit understanding in newspaper offices that nothing shall be said of libel actions against another member of the guild. On rare occasions this is made explicit in printed instructions. For instance: "Libel suits must not be mentioned except by special orders. Labor troubles in the offices of other newspapers must not be mentioned unless the paper in question itself uses the matter as news." This is from a confidential handbook. N. E. Cook, a Cleveland attorney, obtained a settlement out of court in 1926 in a chain libel suit, involving news agencies, picture services and a large number of newspapers. Neither the basis of the suits nor the terms of the settlement were made public, although millions of dollars were involved, and the magnitude of the action alone gave it news value and genuine public interest.

The suppression of information that a newspaper has erred so seriously as to provoke a libel suit is in keeping with the assumption of infallibility. It goes against the grain of any paper to correct a misstatement. The *World* now maintains a Bureau of Accuracy and Fair Play, to which complainants are referred; and when there is a just grievance, it is rectified. Some other newspapers also have set up a machinery for the correction of errors. In the case of the *World* this bureau is its legal department, and investigates the records of those who sue, or threaten to sue, for libel. A young business man who had

been indicted for an attempt on the life of a competitor sued the *Tribune,* after the indictment had been quashed, for having published the charge, and got damages. Then he sued the *World,* to his sorrow; for the Bureau of Accuracy and Fair Play succeeded in reviving and substantiating the charge, and the young man was sent to the penitentiary. It is unquestionably true that some persons attempt to victimize the press, just as some young women make life miserable for philandering millionaires; and there is a certain type of lawyer always at the service of both classes. Many newspapers prefer to settle even the flimsiest case out of court, provided the sum to be paid is less than the fee charged by costly counsel for entering an appearance in court. If in the wrong, any newspaper will print a correction, however grudgingly, rather than be sued. But the concerted suppression of facts about successful libel suits leaves a large part of the public in the dark about this means of redress and discipline; whereas the newspapers' retention of resourceful attorneys often makes the suing of them a precarious business. They are enabled thus to rebuke error in others with comparatively little risk, and to maintain a respectable impression of infallibility, or near-infallibility. And they heighten this impression by the pontifical nature of their editorial utterances.

IV

How sensitive the press is to criticism may be gauged from its reception of a report by a subcommission of the New York State Crime Commission, finding that news-

papers made heroes of criminals, tried cases in their columns, and influenced moral weaklings to emulate gangsters, "bad men," and "super-criminals." I wish to discuss the relation of the press to crime and the administration of justice in the following chapter, but in passing let me note the irritation at this report. One editorial struck the keynote when it said that "an intolerable degree of supposition" had been given to "a half-pennyworth of fact." Whether the information gathered by the commission was indeed worth only half a penny is beside the point: the point is that its criticism was "intolerable."

Not many editors stooped to defend themselves against the charges that they stimulated sex and encouraged crime. Those that did declared that by exposing sin they had made it odious in the eyes of all men; a truly evangelical point of view.

Once in every so often an editor is found who, at the risk of being unfrocked, asserts that criticism may lead to better journalism. Erie C. Hopwood of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* thinks that out of it "must come some element of truth and helpfulness, together with a note of warning which it behooves every newspaper man to regard seriously." And Dean Eric W. Allen of the School of Journalism at the University of Oregon says: "If there is one thing the American press has needed and needs today, it is a spirit of earnest yet unexcited self-criticism. If there is anything which this stormy petrel of the professions has never had, it is just that."

Although referring here to daily journalism as a profession, Dean Allen realizes, as not many newspaper men

do, that the lack of persistent self-criticism militates against this status. *Editor and Publisher* is an able professional critic, but it stands almost alone.

In one sense American journalism has no professional tradition [Dean Allen says]. Its history is too short; it was thrust into an adult world too unprepared. The older and better established professions of medicine and law know well who have been the truly great men in their own fields in the past; they know, too, who have been the showy and successful quacks and shysters. The neophyte in these sister professions, unlike the journalist, has his mind formed in a correct knowledge and true judgment of the difference between professional worth and showy success.

Journalism, however, has not yet digested or made up its mind about its own past. It has not established its traditions. The cub reporter is still initiated into a world of moral and intellectual confusion, where it is almost impossible for him to distinguish what are the higher professional aims of his calling. Any conspicuous name in journalism is "great" to him, and any newspaper of regrettably large circulation may be taken by him as a model of professional "success."

That American journalism has no professional tradition is due to its lack of a recognized body of knowledge and practice. But, having this, a calling must have also intrinsic social utility and intellectual distinction to be rated as a profession. It can hardly be said that daily journalism meets these requirements. The clumsy proposal has been made time and again that newspaper men undergo examination for a certificate, that they be licensed by the State, apparently on the theory that this step will

confer a certain distinction, even a certain professionalism. Are not lawyers and physicians licensed? Assuredly; and so are barbers and veterinarians. Not the license, but background, social usefulness and achievements in learning mark the difference. Professionalism is not coined by the fiat of the State.

The Institute of Journalists in Great Britain operates on the same basis and principle as our bar and medical associations; it maintains recognized standards, and may discipline unethical practitioners. Daily journalism was slower there than here in attaining financial independence and freedom of expression, yet in this country we have no such machinery of professionalism. The American Society of Newspaper Editors has attempted to take over a part of these functions, but without conspicuous success. It lacks scope and authority. Its code of ethics, incompatible with the present practice of metropolitan newspapers, seems resonant but empty.

Nor, as Dean Allen intimates, has the School of Journalism accomplished much in this direction, useful and necessary as such schools are in the field of vocational training. It may be doubted whether many teachers of journalism do much to dissipate that moral and intellectual confusion which dismays the Dean, and textbooks, so far as I can discover, do nothing in that direction. They glorify outstanding newspaper figures without discrimination, and they conventionalize the treatment of news. They make no distinction between Godkin, who never brought the *Post* to a circulation as high as twenty-five thousand, and the elder Bennett, who was a circula-

tion go-getter, with nothing more to commend him than a "nose for news." Bennett had a certain physical courage, to be sure, but Godkin had the kind of courage which is worth being afraid for. Why should newspaper men, paying tribute to Horace Greeley's skill and power, ignore the fact that he used the *Tribune* to promote his personal political ambitions? Why blink the fact that Alexander Hamilton exercised as great an influence over the press of this country as Thomas Jefferson? Why should the admirers of "Marse Henry" Watterson (among whom I am proud to count myself) gloss over the recollection that he was on the wrong side of nearly every great public question he discussed? Apparently it is felt that these men must be canonized, in true churchly fashion. They are part of the journalistic pantheon, and new gods are being added every day.

At the death of Harry Tammen, part proprietor of the Denver *Post,* the public was not told that he was a former bartender, but that he had been "interested" in this and that "café." His past performances had no bearing on his record as an editor, but apparently it was felt that they would detract from journalistic sanctity. A more recent and more striking example of this deification came when Frank A. Munsey died. He was "a very powerful and valuable influence in journalism," said William Randolph Hearst; "a man with a high conception of honor and a gentleman in the true sense," said Adolph S. Ochs; "always upright in his dealings and deserved all he achieved," said Cyrus H. K. Curtis; "his purpose was always high and his efforts never ungenerous," said the chairman of the New

York Publishers Association; "an earnest, upstanding advocate of all worthwhile things," said Clark Howell of the Atlanta *Constitution;* "made a distinctive place in the life of his generation," said Charles P. Taft of the Cincinnati *Times-Star;* "always on the side of clean living, good government and upright citizenship," said Robert Ewing of the New Orleans *States.*

A paragon! But amid this chorus of praise there was another voice. William Allen White, the most distinguished figure of the American daily press, wrote: "Frank Munsey contributed to the journalism of his day the talent of a meat-packer, the morals of a money-changer, and the manners of an undertaker. He and his kind have about succeeded in transforming a once noble profession into an eight-per-cent security.

"May he rest in trust!"

V

Aside from the indiscriminate tendency to apotheosize its departed, the press resembles the church in its lack of that definite technique which has liberated the physical sciences from cant, intolerance and mysticism. It may be said that the theory of evolution has not yet been set free from these forces, and that even an "exact science" like mathematics is basically metaphysical. But at the least the biologist and the engineer and the astronomer recognize themselves for what they are: they are free from claims to divine anointment. Editor and priest, on the contrary, think of themselves as radiant centres of supernal wisdom, the chosen mouthpieces of its propagation. The same

conflict between preachment and practices which Horace M. Kallen, in "Why Religion," notes in the church, may be observed by any one who looks at the press. Verbally robust in behalf of organized self-control and democratic processes, the editor of the daily paper has seldom a word for these shibboleths as they apply to Nicaragua, Mexico and China. Loud in the advocacy of international peace, he often voices a greedy and pugnacious nationalism. Organs which defend a high tariff demand, or accept with tacit approval, duty-free pulpwood newsprint; organs which revile the tariff as a subsidy to Big Business fight for a postal subsidy on second class matter—"for the safety and progress of the nation." Ecclesiasticism interposes between profession and acts no greater gulf than journalism interposes. Both are holier than thou, and both are subject to the witch-burning impulse.

VI

Fremont Older was once a witch-burner. In "My Own Story" he tells how the realization of this came to him after he had taken the lead, as managing editor of the *Bulletin,* in sending Abe Ruef to the penitentiary from boss-ridden and crime-ridden San Francisco. A promise of immunity to Ruef was broken because he refused to tell more than the truth.

I could not escape the conclusion [says Older] that we, who had been working to purify the city, had done this terrible thing. And as I thought more about it, other things that we had done came into my mind. I realized

that many aspects of them were neither virtuous nor praiseworthy.

I reasoned that our goal, reach it as we might, was praiseworthy. It was our intention to rid the city of men who were corrupting every nook and corner of it, who were linking up the lowest dives with the highest places in the community, who were selling the rights of our children and the morals of our young men and women. If we had done questionable things, at least we had done them for a good cause, and with a good end in view. . . .

I had not been unaware that I was making a great, conspicuous fight, that it was making me a big figure in men's eyes, and that if I won I would be something of a popular hero. . . . It came to me that I should not have directed my rage at one man, human like myself, but that I should have directed it against the forces that made him what he was. Those forces were not changed by putting Ruef in San Quentin.

As purifiers of their communities, newspapers are liable to turn purification into a man-hunt. They must work upon the emotions, not convince the reason, of their audience. Cold logic does not move masses to wrath. The forces in San Francisco against which the *Bulletin* was waging war had to be dramatized. They were personalized. Fremont Older was too honest, as the passages I have quoted sufficiently reveal, to remain quiet when he realized that he had wronged an underling in the San Francisco world of graft, while men higher up went scot-free. But he met opposition and derision when he moved for a parole. One of those who opposed him was his employer, R. A. Crothers.

Crothers was unwilling [Older writes] that the halo resting on us for our share in the graft prosecution should

be disturbed. We had won considerable credit in the fight, we were looked upon as disinterested, ardent crusaders, incapable of wrong-doing. With all his power as owner of the paper, Crothers refused to allow this impression to be disturbed. So I was obliged to make my appeal for Ruef on purely sentimental grounds.

In telling the Council of Jewish Women about the fight, Older said (he quotes the speech in this book):

"In those days there was only one kind of politics, and that was corrupt politics. It didn't matter whether a man was a Republican or a Democrat. The Southern Pacific Railroad controlled both parties, and he [Ruef] either had to stay out of the game altogether or play it with the railroad. He didn't create this situation. We created it. He didn't create the standard of success, which is possession. We created it. . . .

"That is the way I feel, and hereafter I am going to let the other fellow severely alone, and permit him, if he chooses, to work out his salvation in his own way. I feel sure I am not fit to judge him, nor to hunt him, nor to criticize him, nor to put him in jail."

Here we have the confession of a reformer partly reformed, the picture of what a "fighting editor" may discover himself to be. As one who received the greater part of his newspaper training on crusading newspapers, I am persuaded that more of the crusading spirit, and not less, is needed in American journalism. The diminution or disappearance of searching and energetic investigation impresses me as one of the chief faults of modern metropolitan journalism. Yet no one who has served a militant press can be unaware of the pitfalls in its course. The impulse to self-glorification and the joy of witch-burning

The Bulletin.
Last Edition
SAN FRANCISCO THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 4, 1916
SCHMITZ AND RUEF
ARRAIGNED
SCHOOL BOARD WILL NOT GIVE IN TO JAPS
ACCUSED GIVEN MORE TIME TO MAKE PLEA
Court Grants Postponement Until Monday at the Request of Counsel for the Defense. Prisoners Come Before Bar.
Fight For Pure Food Is Opened in Court
Thief Secures Cash In Safe Rifled Store
ACCUSED OF EXTORTION MAYOR AND CURLY BOSS SEEK TO DELAY TRIAL
Pressing Business
Ghirardelli's
Bank Teller Is Said To Be Penitentiary
Would Have Packers Pay for Inspection

The San Francisco Bulletin, *the day Abe Ruef faced his accusers. Fremont Older, the managing editor, repented the prosecution.*

are strong within it. The difference between Fremont Older and many other man-hunting editors is that he faced the truth and told it. He could not tell it until he had left the *Bulletin* and gone over to the San Francisco *Call*. Other editors say that he has lost his "nerve."

VII

The evangelical zeal which sometimes carries editors off their feet in the prosecution of causes which they deem just is likely to be even more marked in their subordinates. The new reporter is especially susceptible of it. He worships the Great God News, and will scruple at nothing in its service. To this must be ascribed a measure of the callousness manifest when personal privacies are invaded. In the bosom of the young reporter burns a high moral indignation at the suggestion that any news should be suppressed, or that any information which he regards as news ought to have been suppressed. He is seldom learned in the legal and moral aspects of privilege, and tends to be guided solely by the fixed star of the thrilling.

Barratt O'Hara once said that he "believed in the freedom of the press as a Christian believes in the Golden Rule." He not only believed in it, but believed that it was inalienable and unrestricted. He unearthed in his cub days a shocking story about a monstrosity which had been born to a woman of good family in the community. The child had died, and the features which had horrified even members of the medical profession "properly were sought to be forgotten." The youth got at the facts with considerable difficulty, and wrote the story, as he says, "in

all its ghastly detail"; and he was outraged that the president of the local medical society ventured to challenge the necessity and good taste of the publication. It was true: that was enough!

Subsequently, looking back upon that adventure with unaffected shame, Barratt O'Hara attempted, when Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, to put through a law one effect of which would have been to require that the outgivings of overzealous youngsters be edited by seasoned newspaper men. There was a great uproar about this, on the ground that it was an attempt to transgress the sacred freedom of printing, and the law failed of passage. The power of the press is never more unmistakable than when threatened with unwelcome laws; and those who opposed this statute must have felt about it much as the cub reporter would have felt had his story of the malformed infant been withheld from print. He would have felt that he was being martyred. Yet the fact is that the reporter in such cases unconsciously regards himself as the proprietor of the information his labor has brought to light. He has a vested interest in it; he can realize his reward, he can cash in on his investment, only by sharing his information with others. Its suppression seems to him malicious and unwarranted, however slight may be the privilege of publication, however grave the harm which publication may do. This passion of possession is rationalized as devotion to public duty. The same process of rationalization runs through all the newspaper guild. Men skeptical to the point of cynicism nevertheless translate themselves into devoted public servants. When reproached for raids

upon personal privacy or offences against decency they protest that they are protagonists of truth, purity and justice.

VIII

"The newspaper," says Arthur Symons, "is the fulfilment of the prophecy that the voice of the people shall be the voice of God." The press sets itself up as the voice of the people; more, it declares that it can create, through its editorial page and its news columns, a mystical energy known as public opinion. In a time when democracy has come to be defined as government by public opinion, however vigorously that pronouncement may be assailed, it is readily perceptible that the newspaper editor may come to regard himself as a sort of high priest. The belief or pretension that he expresses, influences or creates a metaphysical power is a claim that his field is contiguous to or overlaps the field of the clergyman in manipulating the supernatural.

Horace Kallen says that the trait which most distinguishes the supernatural from the natural is its imputed saving power. The belief in a supernatural quality of public opinion gave birth to the saying that you cannot fool all the people all the time. This divine invulnerability is the basis of its saving power in crises. It is supposed to compensate for the notorious inefficiency of democratic government, and to act as a brake upon outbursts of mass hysteria. It is what Dr. Kallen would call, I suppose, the *mana* of democracy. And the editor, in his capacity as friend, counsellor and guide, molds this mysterious

effluence. He professes, rightly or wrongly, to shape a power which can do the work in emergencies that nature fails to do.

To the sincerest advocates of democratic processes, then, to the most ardent followers of Lincoln and Jefferson, the press ought to look for its most valiant defenders. Yet the press as it is now constituted in the United States does not find its defenders in this class. Among this class there is a deep-rooted conviction that the press is subject to certain indigenous prejudices, that it is motivated by interests apart from its priestly function; that there is in the "voice of the people" an undertone of preoccupation and self-interest. This gives rise to a distrust wholly inconsistent with a widespread belief in the newspaper as uttering the people's thought and aspiration with clarity and precision.

Yet, despite these cavillings, it must be said that the religion which most newspapers preach is not alien to the thought and aspiration of a large part of their audience. Perhaps the press, as one crying in the wilderness, formulated the credo just as it hit upon the colored comic supplement in another field. One can hardly fancy a spontaneous avid demand for comics in this country! Yet the religion of the quantitative rather than the qualitative has its believing followers; it is the creed, as Fremont Older observed, of material possession. Wealth, speed and novelty are worshipped as ends in themselves. Upon these very superficialities are predicated the entertainment and excitation of the news pages, as well as the seductions of the advertisements. The whole duty of man is not to be

poor; the faith of the metropolitan press and of a large part of its public is a metaphysical faith in the sanctity of purchasing power. Riches are the evidence of things not seen, the substance of things hoped for.

It is the press of a literate people, a secure and favored people, who have not outgrown the ancient awe of literacy as a cult once peculiar to the gentility and the priesthood. It is a press which demands devotion, which undertakes to inspire fear, which must have its mysteries, its creed and its code of ethics. Its god is like the Jewish Jahweh, the god of a chosen people, a jealous god, a god of battles.

Not the god of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln! The press has drifted a long way from the buoys which Jefferson set to mark its course when he was pleading for the first amendment to the Constitution. It is no longer the palladium he pictured. It presses no longer toward the mark for the prize of its high calling, as he conceived it. This we shall consider in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

PRESS AND STATE

A Public Utility's "Guarantee" of Freedom

No government ought to be without censors; and where the press is free, none ever will.—*From a letter written by Thomas Jefferson to George Washington.*

CONSTANT encroachments are being made in the United States upon the freedom of the press. Through official action and judicial proceedings its traditional privileges are being transgressed. The Postmaster-General exercises an arrogant power of censorship after publication, one State has forbidden the printing of details about certain trials, minor bureaucrats have closed other avenues of information, and we have more than one Jeffreys on the bench.

Yet there is no popular outcry on this account. We do not hear of mass meetings to protest because editors and reporters are excluded from sources of news, fined and imprisoned. Most of the people of this country, it is safe to say, favor an untrammelled journalism, but they are not alert in its defence. They are more interested in what it is doing than in what it is saying, in its stunts than in its opinions; and they do not appear to care greatly that its liberties are curtailed.

This situation is as grave as it is anomalous. It is

grave because government by the consent of the governed needs to guard from decay the bases of consent. It is anomalous because a people politically free ought to be jealous of a free channel of information and expression. Apparently there has been a change in the press and a change in the attitude of its readers toward it. The extent of these changes and their nature will become evident by comparing early conditions with conditions to-day, in this and the following chapter.

I

In Colonial days American journalists were in true descent from the English pamphleteers, from Milton, Addison and Steele, from Pope and Swift. Their writings on current topics were forensic and controversial. Here was to be found the literature of revolt. Charles and Mary Beard have pointed out in "The Rise of American Civilization" that the dogmas, the theories and doctrines of equality and liberty were ready at hand in the voluminous library output preceding and accompanying the French Revolution; in Rousseau's "Social Contract" and the writings of the Encyclopædists. Publicists on this side of the water needed only to adapt and embroider the philosophy of rebellion already enunciated. Lord Chatham was free to own that they had improved upon their models.

When your lordships look upon the papers transmitted to us from America [he told his colleagues]; when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you cannot

but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master statesmen of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia.

The men who attended this Congress were the men who made and dominated the Colonial press. Their outgivings, in the form of essays, letters and causeries, were invaluable in consolidating opinion against the Crown. And the Colonial journals assumed greater privileges, thanks partly to a court victory won by John Peter Zenger, a pioneer among our publishers, than their contemporaries in England. Consider the titles of the papers of that day: *Tree of Liberty, Patriot, Liberator, Union, Constitution, Squatter Sovereign,* and so on; and their slogans: "Freedom and Unity," "E Pluribus Unum," "Our Country and our Friends," "Join or Die," "Liberty and Independence." They printed only such communications as were agreeable to the editor. Samuel Adams wrote innumerable letters, under a score of pen names; John Otis, John Hancock and Joseph Warren joined him in the propaganda. News of revolutionary opinions and revolutionary activities spread slowly, but they spread more widely because of the press. (The signing of the Declaration of Independence was not made known in Philadelphia until ten days later, and in Boston not until three weeks later.) After the Constitution was adopted, Ham-

ilton, Madison and Jay pamphleteered for its acceptance through the *Federalist* and other publications.

Charles Pinckney attempted to have incorporated in the Constitution (behind closed doors) a clause guaranteeing that the liberty of the press should be "inviolably preserved," but it was not accepted. It was voted down by six States to five on the ground that, since no power was being conferred on Congress to invade the freedom of printing, there was no need for a guarantee against such invasion. The majority in the convention feared and detested "the rabble," and had not much greater confidence in the press. Through the efforts mainly of Thomas Jefferson the ten amendments called our Bill of Rights were subsequently added to the instrument, and the first of these constitutes what is frequently acclaimed by the press as an unqualified charter of freedom. It reads:

> Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

At once it will be noted that, whereas the guarantee of religious liberty is unqualified, the clause provides merely that the liberty of the press shall not be abridged. This amendment was adopted in 1791, and not until 1793 were newspaper representatives admitted to the United States Senate. Even in the House they were tolerated only on sufferance, and no official responsibility was assumed for what was printed. The guarantee of such liberties and privileges as the press then enjoyed was not much to boast

of, when our highest legislative body forbade the publication of its debates and procedure.

II

Jefferson exercised great influence over the press during its formative period, although there is good reason to doubt whether his influence was greater than that of Alexander Hamilton, with his strong monarchical leanings. George Henry Payne, in his "History of Journalism," says that for twenty years after the adoption of the Constitution

the press of the country was practically under the dominance of two men; and though both would have indignantly resented the suggestion that their activities brought them within the classification of active journalists, of one of them at least, Alexander Hamilton, it is true that his public career after the war was as closely identified with the journalism of the country as were the men who actually earned their living by writing for and printing the newspapers.

With the prejudices against the trade—prejudices inherited from England, the social ideas of which still dominated the nation—it was understandable that men who prided themselves on being "gentlemen" should disown too close an association with a calling such as "Printing," which had yet to live down its early stigma.

Hamilton, conservative though he was, acknowledged the need of free expression. "The liberty of the press," he said, "consists, in my idea, in publishing the truth, from good motives for justifiable ends, though it reflects upon the government, on magistrates, or individuals." When campaigning for his amendment Jefferson was much more

forthright in demanding a special status. "Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press," he said in one letter, "and that cannot be limited without being lost." And again: "Where the press is free, and every man be able to read, all is safe." When partisan excesses prompted the Federalists to declare that a free press was hostile to sound government, and the movement was set afoot for the Alien and Sedition laws, Jefferson wrote: "The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep these to the true principles of their institution. To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty. . . . Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter."

From this ringing profession of faith there was to be a falling away. Jefferson began to have his doubts. In 1807 he wrote:

> Conscious that there was not a *truth* on earth which I feared should be known, I have lent myself willingly to a great experiment, which was to prove that an administration conducting itself with integrity and common understanding cannot be battered down, even by the falsehoods of a licentious press, and consequently still less by the press, as restrained within the legal and wholesome limits of truth. This experiment was wanting for the world to demonstrate the falsehood of the pretext that freedom of the press is incompatible with orderly government.

During his two terms as President Jefferson was bitterly attacked by the opposed press. After annexing a

new empire by the Louisiana Purchase and stimulating the conquest of another empire in the West, he mounted his horse at the capital and rode alone to Monticello, a defeated and all but discredited leader. In retirement he wrote from his Virginia estate to a friend:

> I deplore, with you, the putrid state into which our newspapers have passed, and the malignity, the vulgarity, the mendacious spirits of those who write for them. . . . These ordures are rapidly depraving the public taste, and lessening its relish for sound food. As vehicles of information, and a curb on our functionaries, they have rendered themselves useless, by forfeiting all title to belief.

Jefferson did not reach a point where he advocated censorship; but he did write later: "I have long thought that a few prosecutions of the prominent offenders would have a wholesome effect in restoring the integrity of the presses." What he had in mind was not wholesale repression or punishment, but "a selected prosecution."

Nor were contemporary politicians less outspoken. Daniel Webster denounced "a polluted and shameless press"; and John C. Calhoun, debating in Congress a currency measure in 1816, said that the banks had "a great measure of control over the press, for a proof of which I refer to the fact that the present wretched state of the circulating medium has scarcely been denounced by a single paper in the United States."

The Sedition Act of 1798, providing punishment for false, scandalous and malicious writings against the Government, either House of Congress, or the President, was an expression not only of resentment at an irresponsible

press, but of the theory, not unknown even now and more strongly entrenched then than most of us like to admit, that the rulers of the people were their masters, not their servants. Any publication was punishable if intended to defame public officials, excite sedition or aid the hostile designs of foreign nations. The law was never tested in the Supreme Court, but it was upheld by three Federal Judges. It aroused in the public, then more sensitive to the need of a free press than now, such wrathful opposition that it wrecked the Federalist Party.

During the debate on the Sedition Act various views were put forward as to the meaning of the first Amendment to the Constitution. What that amendment guaranteed was not clear then; it has not been strictly interpreted to this day.

III

There was the promise of final interpretation when the Government proceeded against certain newspapers in a test case to determine the legality of publishing income tax returns. Two points were involved here: whether the statute prohibiting the publication of the returns was applicable, and whether Congress had the right to prohibit such publication when the returns had already been exposed to view (as in Postoffices) and to punish newspaper editors therefor. James M. Beck was Solicitor-General. From his brief in the Supreme Court of the United States I quote these passages:

This provision [the first amendment] clearly refers to the law prior to the adoption of the Constitution, and

intends to fix the liberty of the press by that law. What such liberty was at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, that it shall continue to be, no more, no less. . . .

At that time the statutes appear to be practically silent on the subject, and the common law as it then existed must be our guide. . . . Under the common law the freedom of speech and of the press was strictly circumscribed. To publish a book or paper without the consent of censors was a crime. . . .

Even though it be admitted that freedom of the press be not limited merely to exemption from censorship before publication, there is no authority for the conclusion that the first amendment restricts the powers of Congress to declare criminal and provide punishment for the publication of matters which interfere with the exercise of any of its Constitutional powers. . . .

The prohibition laid upon Congress by the first amendment to the Constitution has given rise to comparatively few decisions by the Supreme Court and in no instance has the constitutionality of an act of Congress been seriously questioned on that ground by the tribunal.

Seldom has a more illiberal document been publicly presented in this country. That this brief should have been offered by the United States Government in a time of tranquillity and prosperity reveals the inadequacy of the Constitutional guarantee. Attorneys for the newspapers declared that if the position were upheld it "would shake the very foundations of American liberty and freedom."

The position was neither upheld nor denied. The income tax lists were open, under the law in question, to public inspection; the Supreme Court decided that the statute forbidding newspaper publication was inapplicable. It did not rule as to whether Congress had any power to

prohibit their publication. The question of the freedom of the press was left as much in the dark as before.

How quickly such freedom may evaporate, may be denied or surrendered, was shown soon after this country entered the World War. The House of Representatives passed overwhelmingly a bill providing for censorship of the press; in the Senate it was defeated by a margin uncomfortably narrow. Instead, we had an unofficial censor, and a "voluntary" self-censorship by newspaper editors. Neither individuals nor the press had such freedom of expression here as in England, or in any dependency of Great Britain. The people of the United States were silenced more effectively than was Abraham Lincoln, who criticized the Mexican War with impunity; scores of newspapers denounced that war, and all of their editors could have been imprisoned under the laws passed during the World War. One of the actions brought under these statutes bore the legal title: "United States *vs.* Spirit of '76."

IV

Defenders of the freedom of the press are wont to hark back with vocal pride to the trial of John Peter Zenger. Here was brought to an issue for the first time in this country the conflict between two theories of government: the autocratic theory, that the rulers are superior to criticism, and the democratic theory that the governed shall have a voice concerning their governors. Zenger, a struggling German immigrant, was chosen by a group of anonymous well-to-do men to publish the New York

Weekly Journal in 1733. From its first issue, the paper was frank in disapprobation of the Colonial Governor. Probably contributors wrote the most stinging of the articles, but in November, 1734, Zenger was arrested for libel on account of "scandalous, virulent and seditious reflections." For nine months, unable to raise bail of £800, he lay in Jail, but after the first week he continued to get out his paper. Explaining the lapse, he wrote:

I have had since that time the liberty of speaking through the hole of the door to my wife and servant by which I doubt not you will think me sufficiently excused for not sending you my last week's *Journal,* and I hope for the future by the liberty of speaking through the hole of the door of the prison to entertain you with my *Journal* as formerly.

When finally the trial was held, Andrew Hamilton (a warm friend of Benjamin Franklin), who had amassed a fortune and great fame in the practice of law in Philadelphia, drove overland to defend the printer. The Judges who sat for the Crown declared that the greater the truth, the greater the libel; and Hamilton, realizing that this was the law, knew that if he were to procure an acquittal it must be on the basis of public sentiment rather than on any legal basis. He demanded and got a jury; and he made such an eloquent plea for freedom of speech and of printing that his argument prevailed.

The case attracted wide attention, not only in the colonies but in London. A correspondent there of Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette,* in the issue of May 11, 1738, quoted "a Goliath in learning and politics" as saying

of the jury's decision: "If it is not law it is better than law, it ought to be law and will always be law wherever justice prevails." Horace Binney, a leader of the Pennsylvania bar in early days, noted that Hamilton in this case was half a century ahead of the Englishmen, Erskine and Fox, in asserting the right of a jury to give a general verdict in libel as well as in murder.

Yet the Zenger victory must be set down as a sentimental rather than a legal achievement. Probably it prepared the minds of the colonists to incorporate in their State Constitutions, when the time came, strong guarantees of liberty to the press; perhaps it fixed more firmly in the public mind the thought of the newspaper as a palladium; and in time truth became indeed a defence of libel. Nevertheless, the Zenger case did not establish a legal right either to criticize public officials nor to report the proceedings of public bodies.

We have seen that as late as 1793 the United States Senate excluded all newspaper men from the chamber. Even as late as 1841 it excluded some of them, and this was half a century after the adoption of the amendment guaranteeing that the freedom of the press should not be abridged. Reporters for certain Washington papers were barred, not because they were inaccurate or untrustworthy, but on political grounds, to give Administration organs the advantage. There were still semi-official papers in the capital. Henry Clay declared that $240,000 had been paid to three Washington organs for printing reports of Congressional debates. Philip Freneau, Jefferson's editorial handy man, attacked the practice vigorously, and

James Gordon Bennett volunteered to print the proceedings free. Thus the custom was broken down, and thereafter reporters were admitted without discrimination into both chambers. Their right to chronicle what was being done was no longer questioned, although the legislators kept in reserve the refuge of secrecy in executive sessions. (The mere occasion of voting on one of President Coolidge's appointees has been enough to cause a Star Chamber session of the Senate.) But for a long time there were scattering decisions holding that adverse criticism of public officials was seditious; and as late as 1850 many courts ruled that when libellous statements were made on the floor of Congress they were not privileged for publication, even though reported accurately and without malice. The publisher in such cases was held liable for damages.

In England it is still illegal to report Parliament, but the law is ignored. In this country, as late as June, 1927, the editor and associate editor of the *Florida State News* were expelled from the Senate of that State because they had offended one of its members. What is known legally as the doctrine of "qualified privilege," the right to publish freely the acts of public officials and the doings of public assemblages, is of comparatively recent growth. It is assumed to lie at the very foundation of representative government, but we got along without it for the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

Nowadays "qualified privilege" is one of the three lines of defence open in libel actions; the others are the right to prove the truth of the publication, and the right of fair comment, in regard to literature, paintings, plays, and so

on, when publicly produced or exhibited. "Qualified privilege," however, is still subject to challenge. Many libel suits grew out of the reckless charges made during the Senate investigation of the oil scandals in 1924; politicians and witnesses abused the legal status conferred by public hearings to gratify personal malice or bid for personal publicity. Thus there was brought home the reflection that this privilege is not an unmixed blessing. It is often abused, indeed, as Samuel Arthur Dawson makes clear in his "Freedom of the Press," a booklet dealing specifically with this phase of the law.

Since John Peter Zenger's day there have been giant strides, with occasional losses of ground gained, but the freedom of the press remains somewhat nebulous. It is pretty generally agreed that newspapers are not free to publish treasonable matter, nor to incite breach of the peace, nor to print that which is merely scandalous, personally injurious or offensive to public decency. Beyond this there is no consensus. Not many editors, I venture to say, would agree as to the precise meaning and content of the phrase they are fondest of using. Editorial opinion about freedom of the press ranges all the way from an assumption of privilege to print anything at any time, whomsoever or whatsoever it may hurt, to a consciousness that the individual and the public have certain rights, too. Not all editors admit that what is merely scandalous, personally injurious or offensive to public decency should be suppressed.

It cannot be said that the freedom of the press is fully safeguarded either in Federal or State law. Freedom of

the press is not the law; it is not even the rule; it is a tradition. There is no legal provision that every editor shall have the right to speak his mind freely on any subject or any doctrine, however unpopular. The freedom of the press should be in fact a freedom to defend something other than majority opinion: it ought to be a freedom to defend minority opinion, even to defend the wrong. The privilege of public expression is chiefly valuable when it breaks down or unsettles opinions which time has outmoded, or which are invalidated in other ways. That the majority clings to such opinions does not prove them to be right. Thus the freedom of the press is most highly to be prized when it is most likely to be traduced on the ground that it is heretical and radical.

CHAPTER XV

PRESS AND STATE

Commercialism versus *Liberty*

The function of the newspaper in a well-ordered society is to control the State through the authority of facts. . . . It is rationally absurd that an intelligent, self-governing community should be the helpless victim of newspapers managed solely for individual profit.—*From a speech to the American Academy of Political and Social Science in July, 1900, by Delos F. Wilcox.*

I

BY official fiat the freedom of the press is gravely circumscribed. Elected persons are jealous and fearful of newspaper power, and often seek openly or covertly to curb it. Not infrequently this has led to litigation. In many instances the courts have upheld the right of newspapers to criticize officials, and have avowed its privileged position as an agency of information; while in contempt cases they have sometimes denied the right to present truth as a defence. The judiciary holds the function of the courts, one gathers from these decisions, to be superior to the executive function. The decisions constitute in themselves a body of law, which varies in different States. Out of them has grown an extra-Constitutional liberty of comment, so far as comment affects the legislative and executive arms of government, and so far

as it affects public activities and opinions outside the government. It is impossible to take account here of many of these decisions, but a few which are significant may be cited.

In 1914, a reporter and the City Editor of the New York *Tribune* were cited for contempt, fined and sentenced to imprisonment because of the publication of a story about custom frauds. They refused to divulge the source of their information, and the animus of the action lay in that a Federal employé, or employés, who had given the information, had violated a rule of the Secretary of the Treasury, made in 1908, that no information should be given out concerning the department except with his permission. The newspaper men maintained silence on the ground that they might incriminate themselves; and a blanket pardon was obtained from President Wilson, guaranteeing immunity to them provided they would reveal the name or names of their informants. They refused to accept the pardon, and the case was carried to the Supreme Court, which unanimously upheld them in this course and in maintaining the confidential nature of their relation with a source of news. This ended, as the *Tribune* put it in a first-page headline, an "insidious censorship" which might have been extended, with encouragement, to other departments of the government.

A noteworthy instance of attempted but unsuccessful official intimidation occurred in 1920 when William Hale Thompson was serving his first term as Mayor of Chicago. He sought to silence criticism through civil actions. Amid a mass of litigation were these cases: He brought two

suits aggregating $600,000 against the Chicago *Evening Post;* another against the Chicago *Daily News* for $250,000; another against the New York *Tribune* for $500,000; and four suits against the Chicago *Tribune* aggregating $1,350,000. More, he caused the City of Chicago through its corporation counsel to file a suit for ten millions against the Chicago *Tribune* for civil libel, on the ground that the newspaper had charged the city with being insolvent and corruptly administered, and so had injured its credit; and that it should be entitled to recover damages like any private enterprise, having been injured in its capacity as a corporation.

The *Tribune* demurred on the ground that its publications were within the rights guaranteed by the Illinois Constitution:

> Every person may freely speak, write and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty,

and on the further ground of "qualified privilege." The Circuit Court sustained the demurrer and the ruling was affirmed unanimously in the Supreme Court. "A despotic or corrupt government," said the Supreme Court decision, "can more easily stifle opposition by a series of civil actions than by criminal prosecutions"; and it gave seven reasons why this was so, adding:

> It follows, therefore, that every citizen has a right to criticize an inefficient or corrupt government without fear of civil as well as criminal prosecution. This absolute privilege is founded on the principle that it is advantageous for the public interest that the citizen should not be in any way fettered in his statements and where the public service

or due administration of justice is involved he shall have the right to speak his mind freely.

These victories are but two of many; yet, sweeping as they may seem, they have not liberated the press from official restraint. We have seen that in Washington the bureaucratic control of news material is used as a club to control the utterances of correspondents, and a similiar condition is likely to prevail wherever there is State, county and municipal government. The Postmaster-General exercises when he wishes an authority over publication as great as must be endured by any editor in Italy, Rumania or Mexico; and there is no more protest against it on the part of the press than against the willful censorship of dispatches concerning Charles A. Lindbergh, when he was on the naval flagship *Memphis*. If the press were to stand unitedly in defence of its rights on such occasions, its rights could be made more definite and certain.

Petty instances of interference have gone by almost unnoticed. A court clerk in Rhode Island arbitrarily barred local newspaper men from the records of civil cases until they had been adjudicated. A borough manager in New Jersey closed all records of police activities, on the ground that publications about them would be detrimental to the town. Even in the more conspicuous but less definite instance of President Coolidge's demand that the press should not criticize his foreign policy unfavorably, newspaper editors were more suave than the occasion seemed to warrant.

First voiced anonymously at a conference with Washington correspondents, the President's view met with so

little forthright opposition that he was emboldened to take full responsibility for it at the United Press dinner to which I have referred in the chapter dealing with the Scripps-Howard group. In this speech he outlined to more than seven hundred newspaper men in person, and to the whole world through the radio, as well as the press, this Government's foreign policy with regard to Mexico, Nicaragua and China. (At the moment Henry L. Stimson was in Nicaragua as Mr. Coolidge's personal emissary, with results which are now common knowledge; we had a fleet in Chinese waters and thousands of marines ashore.) After expressing disapproval of "a narrow and bigoted nationalism," the President said that he regarded as equally harmful "malicious and misleading partisan attacks on the conduct of our own government in its efforts to defend American rights when they are threatened or invaded in foreign countries." He warned the newspapers against "seeming to support the position of foreign governments" by opposing his own position. "An American press," he added, "which has all the privileges which it enjoys under our institutions, and which derives its support from the progress and well-being of our people, ought to be first of all thoroughly American." He wanted to see, he said, "a more intense and genuine Americanism."

The Denver *Post* headlined its story about this banquet: "Coolidge Assails Traitor Newspapers That Betray Their Own Government." It put this pressure on the news in order to give the impression that the President was berating its rivals, the Scripps-Howard papers in Denver; with many thoughtless Americans, it is safe to say, the

impression did prevail that Mr. Coolidge was demanding of the press the sort of Americanism which says, "My country, right or wrong." His tacit assumption that derogation of the Government's policy in Mexico, Nicaragua and China must be "malicious, misleading, partisan," and his suggestion that the policy be accepted blindly, without candid public discussion, was a throwback to the theory that the rulers of the people in this government are not their servants—a theory which Theodore Roosevelt once invoked vainly against the *World*. It was a mild-mannered request that newspaper editors return voluntarily to the conditions the press had experienced under World War statutes, or under the Sedition Act of 1798, when to criticize their masters was felonious. And the editorial retort was generally as mild-mannered as the request.

Undoubtedly Mr. Coolidge, who understands far better than his detractors admit the spirit of the American people and the temper of our newspaper editors, weighed his words accurately and measured their effect with precision. If he calculated that there would be no public resentment he was right; if he calculated that his allusions to the importance of our foreign trade and the magnitude of our capital commitments abroad would have their influence on the editorial reaction, apparently he was not mistaken.

II

Judge Arthur Markey of Dayton, Ohio, at the request of the plaintiff in a divorce suit involving persons of prominence, signed an order that "publication of the filing of

this action in the *Daily Court Reporter,* and in Dayton newspapers, be dispensed with." The story was accordingly suppressed in Dayton, although it was printed in Cincinnati. Judge Markey subsequently admitted that he had no authority over the news. In Delaware the Legislature has taken upon itself to censor this character of information. That State adopted in 1927 a law providing that "all divorce cases shall be heard by the Judges in chambers, unless for some good reason the Judges believe the case shall be heard in public." The statute repealed one making it mandatory that such hearings be in public.

Therein Delaware aped the English precedent. Such a law had been enacted by Parliament a short while before; in France there had been a similar law since 1886, and this is one reason why Paris rivals Reno. In one or two of the United States there were somewhat similar enactments, but they were not so sweeping nor so rigidly enforced.

The Delaware newspapers knuckled down meekly enough to the new order, and elsewhere it was received with as much praise as blame. The Nashville *Banner* saw in it "the logical revolt against the entirely nauseating performances that have taken place in other States, notably New York, under the guise of divorce trials," and the Philadelphia *Record* thought that "a little of the British reticence would be an excellent thing for us to import." The Brooklyn *Eagle* said that "demands for restriction on the publication of divorce testimony in the United States are increasing." The Schenectady *Express* alone of these

saw the law as a possible dangerous forerunner of more drastic legislation, or similar legislation touching other news, but still could find "no reason to be fearful of its effect . . . on the contrary, it may soon be accepted everywhere as a beneficial step."

The Dallas *News* apparently was more concerned about an increased frequency of divorce, owing to the lack of publicity, than about the rights of the press. It feared "recklessness in contracting marriage." So did the Boston *Globe,* which reminded its readers that there had been a "tremendous jump" in the number of English divorce cases. The Chicago *Daily News* observed modestly that "intelligent and decent publicity is a wholesome influence at all times."

Many of these papers sensed in the new law a revolt against the handling of the Stillman divorce and the Browning separation suit. But the Portland (Maine) *Evening Express* warned its fellows that if they could not be trusted to use their rights wisely in such cases, they would not be trusted in other directions. "Rights are seldom overturned in one fell swoop," it said, "but gradually, and the press should guard against anything of the sort by proper and intelligent management of its own particular affairs."

Although the Stillman divorce case was more lustily and more widely exploited by the press than the Browning separation suit, it caused no such general revulsion. The revulsion was due, apparently, to Browning's preoccupation with girls, whereas the persons involved in the Stillman countercharges were adults. It is true that

practically all the newspapers pandered at the outset to Browning's weakness for publicity, and gave generous space to the Cinderella story, as we have seen in the chapter dealing with the invasion of privacy. The separation suit was brought by the latest of the line of Cinderellas, whom Browning married. The eight-column papers, which had helped make that affair nationally notorious, took fright when the police of various towns began barring from newsstands sheets displaying details of the separation suit, and left the tabloid picture papers alone in the mire. *Editor and Publisher* said the tabloid headlines and pictures were the most daring ever seen in New York journalism, and gave this description of sample first pages:

On January 26 [1927] the *Graphic* produced what was supposed to represent the bedroom scene of the Browning honeymoon. Browning's head was pasted onto the pajama-clad body of some male model and he was shown raging around the room, a balloon to the mouth carrying the words, "Woof! Woof! Don't be a goof." Facing him in an attitude of shrinking revulsion was the half-clad figure of a woman, with Mrs. Browning's head pasted onto the body. . . . Here is what the caption said: "When Peaches refused to parade nude! Frances Heenan Browning wept on the stand when she described the scene pictured in the composograph above. . . ."

On January 28 the *Mirror* produced a first page which carried the photographs of the Brownings and a huge headline reading "Bunny Crazy." The head was justified by the statement, printed in a narrow banner at the bottom of the page, that "a famous alienist" had had Browning under observation in the courtroom and had diagnosed his case as "pathological pedophilia," a sexual aberration causing the "sufferer to have unnatural love for young girls."

Even the *Daily News,* which had entered the case as joyfully as the others, thought it best to turn tail, and said editorially:

In this Peaches-Daddy Browning trial some of the publications reporting it have gone so far beyond the line of decency as to seem insane. . . . Far be it from us to pin a lily on our coat. The *News,* also, has gone too far. . . . As long as there is more newspaper circulation in more smut, some presses will be found to roll out the smut. We hate bureaucracy. We hate the suppression of free speech. But unless the minds of the children of New York are to be drenched in obscenity it seems to us that censorship of the press as well as of the theatre must come.

The censorship, of course, should extend only to matters of common decency. Free speech as to public affairs must be as free as now.

Many newspapers elsewhere in the country refused to print any account of the Browning case, or printed only brief accounts, and some decried the publicity. The *World* echoed the demand of its neighbor the *News* for a censorship. "It would be the sheerest hypocrisy," said this paper, "and it would be downright cowardice if the Legislature were to put the theatre or the book trade under a censor while it left the press free to exploit the legalized filth of the courts."

The same journal had proposed censorship for the "art" magazines, which by printing pictures of nude women pandered to the lecherous, and had mobilized municipal authority to drive these obscure publications under cover. Thus, while railing at the prohibition laws, which had brought the bootlegging of liquor, it succeeded in bringing

about the bootlegging of nasty magazines. That it should lend its voice to a demand for censorship, which stultifies censor and censored alike, was astonishing. Yet it was in keeping with Lucy Maynard Salmon's observation, in "The Newspaper and Authority," that the press "has been most intolerant of those members of the fraternity with whose views it has not sympathized." (The *World's* lack of sympathy with salacity was a new symptom. It could no more pin a lily on itself than the *News.*) Miss Salmon observed that newspapers which manifested intolerance seemed blind to the fact that thereby they riveted the shackles of authority the more firmly on themselves.

Outgivings such as this prompted the Pittsburgh *Legal Journal* to say: "Censorship of the press certainly is on its way, and no set or class of people are doing more to speed it than the publishers. A few individuals here and there are only lacking a Wheeler to put it over. Most big publishers will ridicule the thought that such is possible. So did slave owners and booze dealers laugh off the suggestion that their rights would be outlawed."

In the Browning case John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, took a step more sensible than the *World* and *Daily News* had proposed. He appealed to existing law, and brought action against E. H. Gauvreau, editor and publisher of the *Graphic,* under an old statute enacted as a weapon against the *Police Gazette.* It is true that at the time the statute was framed the *Gazette* had a standing rule that no chorus girl was to be pictured in a skirt shorter than is now the feminine convention in street wear—such pic-

tures were shocking in that day. The law said nothing as to the length of skirts, but was directed against indecency and the publication of crime news. The Magistrate who bound Gauvreau over to General Sessions said that other newspaper editors had offended in the same way, but that he thought the law should be tested. The Judges of General Sessions, dismissing the charge, said that "judgment upon a newspaper should be passed only by the public."

III

In the cases cited thus far the bench has upheld in every instance the freedom of the press. Of the legal profession it may be said that the general feeling is one of hostility and contempt toward newspapers. The practice of law is a vested interest, and lawyers resent the invasion of their province by journals which "try" cases in their columns. There is a conflict between the function of the courts to administer even-handed justice, and the function of the newspaper to reveal facts as they arise. Often the publication of news tends to prejudice the case against one side or another; there is an increasing difficulty in getting juries which have not been influenced by publication prior to trial, and there is the undisputed fact that newspapers print statements without the test of cross-examination, gathered by reporters untrained in legal accuracy. In Massachusetts the law governing such publications is ample, but in New York it is weak; and George W. Alger, a practising attorney noted for his interest in social questions, has said:

The result is that in the State which suffers most from the gross and unbridled license of a sensational and lawless press the courts possess the least power to repress and restrain its excesses. A change of law which shall give New York courts power to deal summarily with trial by newspaper is imperatively needed.

Henry W. Taft, brother of the Chief Justice of the United States, addressing the New York City Bar Association on this topic, observed that although newspapers employed specialists in other branches of news they refused to employ court reporters who knew anything about law, and cited many instances of inaccuracy and of the gravest obstructions of justice. Holding that "as the newspaper group constitutes the most powerful single agency in influencing public opinion, its duty to use its power for the public good is very clear," he admitted that it could not be expected to engage in general projects of reform "if from the business standpoint they are unprofitable, or, for some other substantial reason, inexpedient." The admonition to jurors not to read the newspapers, he said, was based upon an assumption that "human nature cannot resist the impression created by press accounts."

In that speech the judicial power to commit newspaper men for contempt received extended treatment from the standpoint of the bench; and a Supreme Court decision was cited to show that in certain instances truth could not be made a defence in contempt proceedings. In the same decision there is an answer to the editorial demand that such cases be submitted to juries, as was the libel action against John Peter Zenger. "It is objected that the Judges were sitting in their own case," said the Supreme Court.

"But the grounds upon which contempts are punished are impersonal."

That is the theory of the law: the Judge does not sit both as prosecutor and Judge because he is not punishing an affront to himself. Let us consider the case of Carl C. Magee, editor of the Albuquerque (N. M.) *State Tribune,* to which I have referred casually in an earlier chapter. He charged Judge David J. Leahy with corruption; the Judge refused a change of venue, decided he was not corrupt, fined the editor four thousand dollars and sentenced him to a year in Jail. He assaulted Magee in a hotel lobby, and the editor, defending himself with a revolver, accidentally killed a bystander who interceded. In the manslaughter trial Judge Leahy testified that he had assaulted Magee because he thought the editor should be punished physically for what he had printed.

Magee was acquitted in the manslaughter trial. For a while he was cited daily for contempt, and in every case the Governor of the State pardoned him. When the fifth case was called he said in his paper that he had no more chance before Judge Leahy than a lamb before a butcher, and this brought another citation. Both charges were tried together. When Judge Leahy announced that truth would not be accepted as a defence, the lawyers for the editor withdrew and the court asked Magee whether he had anything to say for himself. His words are thus reported by R. E. Sharp, editor of the El Paso *Post*:

Stand up, Carl Magee, stand over here, you lying, low-down un-American political harlot . . . you remittance man . . . you cow thief . . . you low-down skunk . . .

you lying, mangy, cowardly reprobate. What have you to say for yourself?

Other instances, not so extreme, might be set down of this sort of impersonalism. The bench now punishes newspaper men not only for contempt of court but for "constructive" contempt, by which is meant acts or publications outside the court, which are held to be offensive. As an example of contempt in the presence of the court, Judge Eugene O'Dunne of the Supreme Court of Baltimore sentenced three editors and two photographers of the Baltimore *News* and the *American* to serve one day in Jail, and fined one of them a thousand dollars, because photographs were made in the courtroom contrary to his orders. The State Supreme Court upheld this. As bearing on "trial" by newspapers, and as an instance of "constructive" contempt, Judge O'Dunne cited the Chief of Detectives because he gave to a Baltimore *Evening Sun* reporter an interview about a criminal case after an indictment had been returned. "When a case is pending in court," he said, "the time for public discussion of its merits is over and the case must then await its orderly determination under our American system of trial by jury." He realized that a fundamental and far-reaching legal question was involved here. So did at least one newspaper, the Baltimore *Post,* which said editorially:

Naturally, the *Post* can't quite go along with O'Dunne in his viewpoint regarding the publication of news. We can't quite picture the bench as a Supreme Censor passing on what we should present to our readers. . . . We have every respect for Eugene O'Dunne, as a Judge, a lawyer

and a gentleman. But as a detective or an editor our personal opinion is that he would be a complete flop.

William Allen White does not hold the press blameless in the judicial invasion of its privileges. In a statement written for *Editor and Publisher* he said:

We editors are just beginning to feel what labor has felt for years. We have applauded Judges as conservators of the Constitution when they were restricting the rights of labor by injunctions, denying them trial by jury under proceedings which now are grinding the liberties out of the press. Unless we are willing to take labor with us in our flight across the ice for liberty like Eliza and her child, we might as well stay at home.

So long as Judges can enjoin men from striking and prevent peaceful, direct picketing; so long as the courts and the strong arm of government are against labor in its peaceful struggle for economic liberty, our editorial wail for special privileges in the courts will excite no very great sympathy.

The thing that affects us is more deep-seated than our own little wrong. It is a repression of American liberties which comes from class-conscious government.

Here again the war is carried into journalism's own camp. Whether the newspapers are willing to take labor with them in their flight for liberty may be guessed from the 1927 report of the Committee on the Open Shop of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. I need quote only a brief passage, which is representative:

There is a decided trend in all labor unions towards a shorter week. If this is brought about it will mean that more men will be needed. A consensus of opinion of

leading industrial organizations on this subject is that it will decrease volume of production; increase the cost of living; inflate wages; and ultimately result in great injury to the country generally.

Our office receives many letters from publishers asking for information as to what they will gain by refusing to make future contracts with the unions. One thing that the employer gains by operating his plant on the open shop or non-union basis is a force of more contented workers and a smaller labor turnover. And with more contented employés greater efficiency follows, as well as greater production, a larger measure of coöperation, and no lost production through strikes and lockouts.

IV

The American Society of Newspaper Editors receives many complaints about contempt citations and about physical assaults upon reporters and photographers. Recognizing that the press may not always be blameless in such cases, and sensing a widespread public hostility, it has debated setting aside a large annual fund for investigation and counter-action. It saw "a considerable public sentiment," for example, behind the fact that the first prize in an oratorical contest, between university and college representatives in the Missouri Valley Conference, had been awarded to a student who attacked the press.

Week after week [said the orator] the tide of salacity rises about us. . . . We pride ourselves upon our common sense and sanity. We base our self-respect upon esteem of our ideals; our sense of security upon the strength of our institutions. Yet without apparent reason we blindly commit the preservation of the institutions to an indifferent press.

The tide of salacity of which the orator complained caused the editorial society to get out a bulletin regarding "the Cold Blonde with her sashweight and the captivating corset salesman with his gin complex" (in the Snyder-Gray murder trial). Column after column, all over the United States, had been turned over to this sordid story.

Had it been definitely and finally demonstrated that the one sure way to the interest of newspaper readers was through pornographic morbidity? Many editors who had stood out valiantly against complete surrender to the circulation urge doubtless had misgivings.

But no, Lindbergh saved the day. "Even circulation men had to admit that here was something which beat the Snyder case—and not one commandment broken," said the Society of Editors. But the bulletin warned its readers against supposing that the public "will not pounce ravenously upon the next crime sensation." Dreadful public taste! The whole bulletin was an obvious plea in confession and avoidance.

Now, neither the exploitation of sex nor the ballyhoo of aviation can be made the basis of a claim for special privileges. Ballyhoo by its very nature confesses commercialism. The circulation urge, as it is called by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, is responsible for this, the most characteristic note of modern metropolitan journalism. What the circulation urge was doing to the newspapers of this country, under the whip of the advertiser, was already apparent when Delos F. Wilcox made the speech, at the beginning of the Twentieth Cen-

tury, from which I have quoted a passage at the head of this chapter. The Wilcox charge has been echoed since then. The prize-winning college orator had something of the same sort in mind. Walter Lippmann, before he became editor of the *World,* declared that the people were "wondering whether government by the consent of the governed can survive in a time when the manufacture of consent is an unregulated private enterprise"; and said that "the present crisis of western democracy is a crisis in journalism." It is a crisis, also, of public apathy toward the standards of journalism.

The special position accorded to the press, its charter of freedom, was granted to it in its capacity as a public utility. It is based upon two propositions: First, that the press shall act as a censor of government and a surrogate of popular liberties; second, that it shall afford a prompt, accurate and unbiased supply of information, the raw material of mass opinion. Each of these functions is charged with a public use. Much more distinctly than transportation, water power, or communication by post, telegraph, telephone and radio—all of which are under strict governmental supervision and regulation—the press is burdened with responsibility for general well-being, public morality and the harmonious operation of democratic government. The extent to which it is conscious of its responsibility and acknowledges the bases of its privileges must finally determine whether it shall continue in the enjoyment of them. There is no question that it is subject to the same regulation and inspection as any other public utility, and if the Government chooses to get down

to Constitutional brass tacks there is little hope of protection under the first amendment.

It so happens that neither of the functions on which the first amendment to the Constitution rests is a money-making function. Crusading, as we have seen, alienates the advertiser, who is the "angel" of the press. Aggressive criticism of the government and protection of popular liberties do not conduce to the complacent extravagance which the advertiser desires. It is impossible to ignore the fact that a newspaper like the *World,* conspicuous by reason of its past performances in the public service, now ranges far afield, to expose peonage, say, in Florida, or at home crusades against a type of magazines whose publishers do not advertise in the daily press. Courageous militance is rare in metropolitan newspapers. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* the Boston *Herald,* the Scripps-Howard group, are among the few exceptions to a general flabbiness. It may be said fairly, I believe, that the entire American press betrayed its constituency in the matter of the oil scandals.

In contrast to a publication like the *World,* a paper like the *New York Times,* which prints an enormous coverage of news, apparently does not attempt to subsist solely on its acknowledged preëminence in that field. It has not attempted to make a living by dispensing in sound proportion what is interesting because it is significant. On the contrary, it resorts to ballyhoo beyond any of its contemporaries in order to build circulation and fatten its advertising rates. It is as far in the lead in the mass re-

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

THE WEATHER

VOL. LXVIII ... NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1918 TWENTY-FOUR PAGES TWO CENTS

ARMISTICE SIGNED, END OF THE WAR! BERLIN SEIZED BY REVOLUTIONISTS; NEW CHANCELLOR BEGS FOR ORDER; OUSTED KAISER FLEES TO HOLLAND

SON FLEES WITH EX-KAISER

Hindenburg Also Believed to be Among Those on His Party

ALL ARE HEAVILY ARMED

Automobiles Bristle with Arms as Fugitives Arrive at Dutch Frontier

ON THEIR WAY TO BE STEED

Kaiser Fought Hindenburg's Call for Abdication; Failed to Get Army's Support in Keeping Throne

By GEORGE RENWICK

Kaiser Shorn of Its Ex-Ruler's Abdication

BERLIN TROOPS JOIN REVOLT

Reds Shell Building in Which Officers Vainly Resist.

THRONGS DEMAND REPUBLIC

Revolutionary Flag on Royal Palace—Crown Prince's Palace Also Seized.

GENERAL STRIKE IS BEGUN

Burgomaster and Police Submit—Ebert Offices Seize Under Socialist Control.

LONDON, Nov. 10.—The greater part of Berlin is in control of revolutionists, the Exchange Telegraph Company reports.

Socialist Chancellor Appeals to All Germans To Help Him Save Fatherland from Anarchy

WAR ENDS AT 6 O'CLOCK THIS MORNING

The State Department in Washington Made the Announcement at 2:45 o'Clock.

ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED IN FRANCE AT MIDNIGHT

Terms Include Withdrawal from Alsace-Lorraine, Disarming and Demobilization of Army and Navy, and Occupation of Strategic Naval and Military Points.

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Monday, Nov. 11, 2:45 A. M.—The armistice between Germany, on the one

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

THE WEATHER

VOL. LXVII ... NEW YORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1915 TWO CENTS

TUNNEY WINS CHAMPIONSHIP, BEATS DEMPSEY IN 10 ROUNDS; OUTFIGHTS RIVAL ALL THE WAY, DECISION NEVER IN DOUBT; 135,000 PAY MORE THAN $2,000,000 TO SEE BOUT IN THE RAIN

FLORIDA CONSCRIPTS ALL ITS UNEMPLOYED TO CLEAR WRECKAGE

Police, Militia and Legion Round Up Men in Streets and Set Them to Work.

CALL ISSUED FOR LABORERS

Miami Wants 25,000 Men and Hollywood and Fort Lauderdale 7,000 Each.

LOSS PUT AT $125,000,000

North Carolinians Wage Humorous Suit for Widow

CROWD ARRIVES SMOOTHLY

Throngs Ushered Into Philadelphia Stadium Without Confusion.

MANY NOTABLES ATTEND

Governors of Six States and Mayor Walker Among Long List of Officials.

OVER 75,000 FROM HERE

Trains Alone Carry That Number and Others Make the Trip by Automobile.

GENEVA CONFERENCE ADOPTS COURT PLAN

Right of Powers to Withdraw Approval of American Reservations Is Recommended.

NEW PROTOCOL NEXT STEP

United States Will Be Invited to Help Draft It—President to Act on It, Davis.

15,000,000 Radio Audience Listens In on Ring Battle

AIRPLANE CARRIES TUNNEY TO SCENE

Challenger Is First to Make Way to Heavyweight Title Bout Through Air

RISE DEPLORED BY MANY

Tunney However Is Carried Throughout—Code Flying Least Trying on Nerves.

TUNNEY ALWAYS MASTER

Challenger Bewilders His Opponent With His Speed, Accuracy

AGGRESSIVE IN ALL ROUNDS

Sends Rain of Whistling Lefts Which Champion Cannot Avoid.

OUTCOME IS A SURPRISE

Dempsey Leads All Celebrities of His Old Aggressiveness—Latter Is Astonished.

GENE TUNNEY, EX-MARINE
The New Heavyweight Champion of the World, Who Defended His Title Successfully Last Night

VICTORY IS POPULAR ONE

Ex-Marine Gets Ovation as He Enters Ring—Crowd 'Boos' Foe.

BIGGEST IN SPORT HISTORY

Shibard's Look Turns, However, and Distinguished Gathering Is Thoroughly Drenched.

DEMPSEY'S NOSE SUFFERS

Rebuilt for Movies, It Is Target of Challenger as He Pins Up Pants for Victory

The New York Times *"resorts to ballyhoo beyond its contemporaries." Headlines over the biggest news in the history of the press, compared with the inflation of a sporting event.*

porting of prize-fights as in the verbatim transcript of treaties and other international documents.

These two newspapers, the most eminent of their respective types, may well be examined with regard to their competence in supplying the electorate with information on public questions. Their record as to prohibition is spread daily before all those who read, and no one will pretend that it is creditable, from the standpoint of journalistic fairness. Let us see what they have done in the vexed and complicated question of Philippine independence.

V

It is impossible here to go into the history of our dominion over the Philippine Islands since 1898: Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco have told it in "The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States." Of the whole American press it may be said that more attention has been given to the islands as a field of exploitation than to the cries of Filipino leaders for independence. It is likely, of course, that newspapers which stand to profit as commerce and industry thrive will perceive commercial and industrial possibilities more readily than abstract questions of international equity. As Henry W. Taft observes, the press cannot be expected in such circumstances to undertake reforms. In recent years the British restrictions on the export of raw rubber, under the Stevenson Act, have centred attention afresh on the islands as a possible site of huge rubber plantations. It may be said in passing that rubber has been used to make a newsprint which

looks and feels and tears like pulpwood newsprint, but which cannot be manufactured profitably as yet. I do not believe any newspaper's policy is influenced by the possibility that the rubber plantation may some day solve its major problem of a raw material for newsprint; yet the presence of the fact should make the press more jealous of its reputation in the handling of the Philippine question.

From the first the islands have attracted American financiers because of their rich natural resources. Frank A. Vanderlip, when Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, said:

The possession of the Philippines by a progressive, commercial power, if the Nicaragua Canal project should be completed, would change the course of ocean navigation as it concerns a large percentage of the water-borne traffic of the world. The project is alluring.

The allure of rubber plantations has heightened the value of the islands in certain eyes. Clinton Gilbert, writing to the New York *Evening Post* about Carmi Thompson's mission as a personal emissary of the President to investigate the islands, said:

How he came to be sent to the insular possessions was thus: Harvey Firestone, the automobile tire manufacturer, was agitating the American production of rubber. And President Coolidge conceived the idea of investigating the economic possibilities of the Philippines. . . . A little jaunt to look at rubber possibilities disturbs the Governor-General, excites all the Filipino politicians, agitates the Far East—all to tell Congress something that it does not care anything about knowing.

Congress cared so little that it appropriated no money for the mission. Firestone, alone among the major rubber manufacturers of the United States, was bellicose about the British restrictions, and was supported in his attitude by both the President and Secretary Herbert Hoover of the Department of Commerce. The American Rubber Institute, on the contrary, comprising scores of large manufacturers of the material, set about peaceably to adjust the question of prices by negotiation. The purpose of Carmi Thompson's journey was to centre public attention on the question from the Administration standpoint. Many newspaper correspondents accompanied him. It was a matter of news. Such a mission is one way of making news.

The *World,* in consonance with the liberal tradition conferred on it by the elder Pulitzer, has favored independence for the Philippines. It did not send a reporter with the Thompson mission. It ignored the news. The *Times,* which is opposed to fulfilment of the promise to liberate the islands, did send a man. I tabulated all the news from the Philippines in this paper during 1926, including the articles by an editorial writer who was sent separately to the scene, but we are concerned here with the question whether the material published afforded a fair basis of public opinion, and for that purpose I need set down a single example.

On September 19, the *Times* carried at the top of its first page a dispatch from its staff correspondent with Thompson, under the heading, "Quezon demands inde-

pendence now and attacks Wood." The first sentence read:

Replying to Henry L. Stimson's recent defence of Governor-General [Leonard] Wood, Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, this afternoon issued a statement refusing coöperation with the United States if such a policy means "delaying recognition of our independence."

Two weeks later, on October 4, the *Times* printed a dispatch from the same correspondent under the headline, "Quezon ready for compromise." The first paragraph reads:

After a long talk with Manuel Quezon, President of the Senate, to-day, I am inclined to think that, despite his radical policy, he is unwilling to stand in the way of some compromise solution of the independence problem, provided it includes concessions in the form of domestic self-government and does not preclude eventual independence of the Philippines. Under such circumstances it is also likely that he would cease his opposition to the economic development of the Philippines by American capital.

In this lengthy story there was not one word quoting Quezon directly. Twice statements were attributed to friends of his, who were not named. Although the correspondent merely stately that he was "inclined to think" the Philippine leader would accept certain terms, the headline stated without qualification: "Quezon ready for compromise."

I do not offer this as showing the tenor of all the Philippine news printed by the *Times* during the year, but

as an example of the kind of stuff on which a public confining itself largely to headlines cannot safely base an opinion. The *Times* was not alone in that its news columns were subject to coloration by its editorial policy. The columns of the *World* were negatively influenced by suppression of the news about the Thompson mission. The *Times,* in the last story to which I have referred, presented a disingenuous headline because the copy-editor knew what his superiors wanted. Examples of such coloration might be multiplied, not only from the pages of this newspaper but from others.

Newspapers are under no legal or moral obligation to print all the news. They are unable to print all the facts about such news as they elect to print. The total impression of what they print, and its validity as a basis of public opinion, is a resultant of editorial selection and the editorial viewpoint.

VI

Private profits cannot be made the basis of a privileged public position. The freedom of the press is not guaranteed on the ground that the press is a going, dividend-paying business. There is a common belief that, with an eye to the main chance of dividends, the press has forgotten the bases of its liberties, and is no longer devoted to the public service.

Know this: the freedom of the press has no advocate, no intercessor, no vindicator. It has only defenders and apologists. It is not offered to us as a blessing. It is offered as the lesser of two evils. If we maintain it, we

may suffer certain inconveniences and discomforts; if we abolish it, we will be at the mercy of worse powers; fetter the press and you fetter yourself: so the argument runs. So it has run since Milton set the fashion in the "Areopagitica." There is no other argument: not even Jefferson, in his most sanguine days, could find a better. And apparently the public does not think the argument conclusive. The public regards it as a threat, not a promise. The emphasis needs to be shifted.

The newspaper reader perceives in the freedom of the press the privilege to invade his personal privacy, print his picture without his consent, dump onto his doorstep filth collected from the courts, and ballyhoo, for the aggrandizement of its own treasury, prize-fighters, channel swimmers, football players, chorus girls and aviators. He cannot see that the freedom of the press is utilized to any extent in the defence of unpopular views; in the excoriation of industrial abuses; in the free criticism of elected officials; in the aggressive exposure of Teapot Dome scandals.

How can the newspaper reader be expected to see red when this freedom is invaded? He will not become an active champion until newspapers mend their ways. There can be no doubt that, were the whole press to shovel less smut and print more news, were it to manifest an active and intelligent interest even in public questions which promised no immediate return to its pocket-book, were it to acknowledge the responsibilities and obligations implicit in the charter under which it functions, there would be a

change in popular sentiment toward it. It has itself to blame for public lethargy when its privileges are curtailed. This lethargy will be responsible if its privileges are abolished.

THE END

INDEX

"Abie's Irish Rose," 56, 62
Adams, Franklin P., 212
Adams, Henry, 283
Adams, John Quincy, 74
Adams, Samuel Hopkins, 111, 360
Adams, Thomas W., 284
Addison, Joseph, 339
Advertising, 138 *et seq.*, 148, 166, 181
  Agencies, 200
    Book, 237
  Character of, 219
  Classified, 221
  Competition for, 277
  Department Store, 217
  Development of, 207
  Government, 51
  Illustrations, 200, 228, 236
  Influence of, 199 *et seq.*, 224
  Kinds of, 217
  Losses, 263
  Media, Choice of, 204, 235
  Phraseology, 222
  Press, Effect on, 196
  Radio, 296, 304
  Rates, 48, 203, 216, 236, 242, 259, 372
  Revenue from, 213
  Space, 219
  Subsidy, 73
  Value of, 28
  Women and, 235
Africa, 47
Age-Herald, Birmingham, 174, 304
Albany, 255
Albuquerque, N. M., *State Tribune,* 276, 288, 366
Alcock, Captain John, 35
Alexander II, Czar, 188
Alger, George W., 364
Alien and Sedition Laws, 343
Allen, Eric W., 325
Allen, James Lane, 183
"Allied News Agencies," 310
Amalgamated Press, London, 254
American, Baltimore, 367
American, Evening, Chicago, xvi
American, New York, 36, 59, 70, 106, 186, 190, 192
American Academy of Political and Social Science, 353
American Federation of Labor, 167
American Newspaper Publishers Association, 134, 163, 200, 245, 273, 298, 306, 368
American Rubber Institute, 375
American Society of Newspaper Editors, 31, 46, 82, 91, 280, 327, 369
American Telegraph and Telephone Company, 135, 311
Annunzio, Gabriele d', 228
"Areopagitica," John Milton, 378
Armistice, World War, 21, 39, 44
Arnold, Matthew, 34
Armstrong, Orland Kay, 208
Associated Press, 25, 57, 81, 91, 115, 140, 163, 185, 229, 252, 255, 256, 277, 280, 304, 308, 310
Atkinson, J. Brooks, 111
Atlanta, 65, 255
  Constitution, 329
  Journal, 304
Aurora, Philadelphia, 160

Automobiles, Deaths due to, 171
Aviation News, 35, 136, 165, 269, 370
Ayer and Son, N. W., 200

Baer, George F., 99
Bagley, Commander, 40
Baker, Ray Stannard, 111
Ballyhoo, Art of, 21
  Birth of, xiv, 41
  Meaning of, ii
Baltimore, 185, 186
  American, 367
  Federal Republican, 157, 159
  News, 261, 304, 367
  Post, 276, 367
  Star, 261
  Sun, 28, 37, 367
Banner, Nashville, 359
Beard, Charles, 159, 339
Beard, Mary, 159, 339
Beck, James M., 345
Beloit, Wis., *Independent*, 176
Bennett, Arnold, 60
Bennett, James Gordon, Senior, 26, 47, 48, 65, 76, 101, 160, 190, 191, 192, 233, 247, 250, 322, 327, 350
  Assaults on, 51
Bennett, James Gordon, Junior, 151, 165
Berger, Victor, 305
Berlin, Irving, 55
Berlin *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 75
Bernays, Edward L., 125, 143
Beverly Hills, 140
Big Business, Journalism as, 245 *et seq.*
Bigelow, John, 52
Biggs, Joseph, 50
Bingay, M. W., 31
Binney, Horace, 349
Birmingham *Age-Herald*, 174, 304
  News, 173
  Post, 276
Bleriot, Louis, 35
Block, Inc., Paul, 253
Bloodgood, Dr. Joseph Colt, 178
Bly, Nellie, 101
Bonfils, Fred G., 89, 91, 276, 280, 281, 322
Borah, William E., 313
Boston, 185, 340
  Christian Science Monitor, 201
  Globe, 133, 304, 360
  Herald, 177, 372
  Influence of, xv
  Post, 202
  Transcript, Evening, 304
Botts, Congressman, 51
Bowles, Sherman, 257, 293
Bridgeport, Conn., *Times-Star*, 58
Brisbane, Arthur, 154, 231
Brooklyn Bridge, 152
  Eagle, 250, 253, 359
Brooks of Wyoming, Governor, 88
Broun, Heywood, 54, 111
Brown, Lieutenant Arthur W., 35
Brown, Roscoe C. E., 119
Browning, Edward W., 63
Browning Case, 191, 360
Bruno and Blythe, 129
Bryan, William Jennings, 104
Bryant, William Cullen, 183
Bryce, Lord, 317
Buffalo *Times*, 200
Bullard, Arthur, 143
Bulletin, San Francisco, 252, 330
  Illustration, 332
Burrage, Vice-Admiral, 39
Burton, Pomeroy, 163
Business News, 32, 42, 211, 212
  Rank of, 212
Butcher, William Lewis, 29
Byrd, Commander Richard E., 36, 136

Cable, Transatlantic, 247
Calhoun, John C., 74, 344
Call, San Francisco, 38, 172, 304, 333

"Canned" News, 107, 165
Cannon, Joseph G., 99
Canton, Ohio, *News, Daily,* 176
Capper, Arthur, 263
Carlisle, John G., 152
Carvalho, S. S., 154
Castellane, Duke de, 101
Celler, Emanuel, 305
Censorship, Political, xiii, 39, 74, 134, 156, 305, 312, 344, 356, 359, 362
  Self, 347
Centinel, Massachusetts, 47
Century Magazine, xi
Chamberlin, Clarence, 35
Chaplin, Charlie, 115
Chapman, Gerald, 59
Charlotte, N. C., *Journal,* 52
Chase, Stuart, 223
Chatham, Lord, 339
Chattanooga, 65
  Times, 250
Chicago, xvi, 38, 49, 202, 260
  American, Evening, xvi
  Examiner, 187
  Influence of, xv
  Journal, 304
  News, Daily, 106, 168, 218, 237, 252, 265, 304, 355, 360
  Post, Evening, 355
  Tribune, 28, 109, 115, 172, 186, 188, 203, 229, 277, 298, 304, 319, 355
Christian Science Monitor, Boston, 201
Chronicle, Houston, 291, 304
Chronicle, San Francisco, 250, 304
Cincinnati *Enquirer,* 154
  Post, 36, 276
  Times-Star, 77, 304, 329
Circulation, 38, 48, 53, 72, 155, 169, 184, 185, 186, 204, 214, 235
  Advertising and, 205
  Aggregate Daily, 242
  Builders, 187, 192, 370
Circulation (Cont.)
  Gains in, 189
  Importance of, 230
  Race for, 218
Citizen, Columbus, Ohio, 276
Civil War, 161, 233
Clay, Henry, 349
Clayton, Colonel John M., 182
Clemenceau, Georges, 105
Cleveland, Grover, 76
Cleveland, 84, 152, 260
  Influence of, xv
  Penny Press, 271
  Plain Dealer, 169, 325
  Press, 271, 276
Clipping Bureaus, 38, 62
Collins, Wilkie, 183
Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 144
Columbia, S. C., *State,* 91
Columbia University, 118, 181, 242
Columbus, Ga., *Enquirer-Sun,* 174
Columbus, Ohio, *Citizen,* 276
Commercial, Vincennes, Ind., 284
Commercial and Advertiser, New York, 52, 254
Commercial-Appeal, Memphis, 174
Commercialization of the Press, 168, 179
  Liberty, *versus,* 353 *et seq.*
  Times, New York, 164
Confederate States, 161
Congressional Globe, Washington, 74
Congressional Record, 74
"Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, The," Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco, 373
Constitution, United States, 47, 49, 177, 340
Constitution, 340
Constitution, Atlanta, 329
Contact, 145

Continent, Daily, New York, 185
Illustration, 186
Coolidge, Calvin, xiv, 79, 84, 140, 224, 270, 350, 357, 374
Cook, Dr. Frederick A., 165
Cook, George M., 147
Cook, N. E., 323
Counsellor on Public Relations, 97, 122, 143 *et seq.*
Courier and Enquirer, New York, 51
Courier-Journal, Louisville, 38, 184
Court Reporter, Daily, Dayton, Ohio, 359
Covington, Ky., *Post,* 276
Cowper, William, 206
Cox, James M., 263
Crime News, 29, 42, 44, 48, 59, 100, 169, 191 *et seq.,* 211, 212, 364
Rank of, 212
Crothers, R. A., 331
Crusading, 51, 87, 169, 175, 195, 282, 291, 331, 332, 372
Need for, 332
Cuba, 101
Curtis, Cyrus H. K., 189, 328
Curtiss, Glenn, 165

Daily Continent (see *Continent, Daily*)
Daily Graphic (see *Graphic, Daily*)
Daily Mail (see *Mail, Daily*)
Daily Mirror (see *Mirror, Daily*)
Daily News (see *News, Daily*)
Dale, George R., 286
Dallas, 38
Dispatch, 304
Journal, 230, 304
News, 252, 360
Dana, Charles A., 111
Daniels, Josephus, 67, 88, 263
Davis, L. Clarke, 77
Davis, Richard Harding, 77, 111
Dawson, Samuel Arthur, 351
Day, Ben, 49
Dayton, Ohio, 358
Court Reporter, Daily, 359
Dearth, Judge Clarence, 286
Debs, Eugene, 121
Decatur, Stephen, 273
Declaration of Independence, 340
Dempsey, Jack, 33, 44, 129
Denver, 38, 64, 255
Express, 275, 276
Post, 89, 90, 276, 357
Rocky Mountain News, 89, 90, 275, 277
Detroit, 260
Free Press, 172
Influence of, xv
News, 29, 31, 304
Times, 236
Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin, 75
Dewart, William T., 275
Divorce News, 47
Dewey, Admiral, 99
Dispatch, Dallas, 304
Dispatch, Pittsburgh, 260
Distribution, 258
Dix, Dorothy, 25, 218
"Doctor's Dilemma, The," George Bernard Shaw, 113
Dodge Brothers, 264
Doheny, Edward R., 146
Donald, Sir Robert, 98
Douglas, Stephen A., 143
Dramatic News, 111
Du Barry, Madame, 124
Dunsany, Lord, 67
Du Pont de Nemours, E. I., 146
Durant, Will, 44

Eagle, Brooklyn, 250, 253, 359
Eaton, Walter Pritchard, 313
Ederle, Gertrude, 41
Edison, Thomas A., 182
Editions, Number of, 182
Editor and Publisher, 32, 130, 179, 217, 228, 259, 262, 299, 326, 361, 368

Educational Review, 108
Edwards, E. J., 77
Eggleston, George Cary, 52
Eliot, Dr. Charles W., 34
Elkhart, Ind., *Truth,* 36
El Paso *Post,* 276, 366
Encyclopædists, French, 339
Encyclopædia Britannica, 38
English, Judge George Washington, 173
Enquirer, Cincinnati, 154
Enquirer-Sun, Columbus, Ga., 174
Erskine, Lord, 349
Eulenspiegel, Till, 125
Eulogies of Newspaper Men, 327
Evansville, Ind., *Press,* 276, 284, 287
Evening American (see *American, Evening*)
Evening Graphic (see *Graphic, Evening*)
Evening Herald (see *Herald, Evening*)
Evening Journal (see *Journal, Evening*)
Evening Post (see *Post, Evening*)
Evening Sun (see *Sun, Evening*)
Ewing, Robert, 329
Examiner, Chicago, 187
Examiner, Los Angeles, 115
Examiner, San Francisco, 153
Exploration News, 165
Express, Denver, 275, 276
Express, Los Angeles, 304
Express, Evening, Portland, Maine, 360
Express, Schenectady, 359
Express & News, San Antonio, 304

Fabre, Henri, 23
Factory System, American, 197
Faking News, 98, 109
Fall, Albert B., 88, 146, 280
Features, 28, 209, 277, 282, 289
  Colored Supplement, 231
  Comics, 212, 229, 231, 243
  Cross-word Puzzles, 229
  Effect of, 232
  Fiction, 218, 228, 229
  Illustration, 228
  Sunday, 227
  Supplements, 243
Federal Council of Churches, 314
Federalist, Washington, 73, 341
Federal Radio Commission, 312
Federal Republican, Baltimore, 157, 159
Ferrero, Guglielmo, 228
Fillmore, Millard, 75
Financial News, 51
Finty, Tom, Junior, 230
Firestone, Harvey, 374
Florida State News, 350
Fonck, René, 136
Ford, Henry, 245, 264
Foreign News, 42, 81, 267, 305
Fort Worth *Press,* 276
Foster, M. E., 291
Four-Power Treaty, 78
Fox, Charles James, 349
Foxcroft, Frank, 222
F. P. A., 212
France, Subsidized Press, 75
Franklin, Benjamin, 245, 348
Frazier, Lynn, 167
Free Press, Detroit, 172
Freedom of the Press, 50
  Abridgment of, 317, 341
  Bases of, 377
  Censorship and, 344
  Court judgments on, 364
  Defense of, 347
  Effects of, 157
  Guarantee of, 338 *et seq.,* 346
  Infringement on, 359
  Privileges of, 179
  "Qualified Privilege," Doctrine of, 350, 355
  Reasons for, 371

Freedom of the Press (Cont.)
Tradition, a, 352
Tradition of, xiii, 248
Versions of, 342, 351
"Freedom of the Press," Samuel Arthur Dawson, 351
French Revolution, 339
Freneau, Philip, 349
Friendly, Edwin S., 137

Gadski, Johanna, 191
Galli-Curci, Amelita, 124
Garcia, General, 156
Garges, Milton, 308
Gauvreau, E. H., 363
Gaynor, Mayor W. J., 241
General Electric Company, 267, 311
General Motors, 264
George III, King, 318
German Empire, 44
Gilbert, Clinton, 374
Glass, Carter, 263
Globe, Boston, 133, 304, 360
Globe, New York, 219, 261
Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, xvi, 38, 42, 91, 177
Goddard (Bush), Lucretia, 139
Goddard, Morrill, 154, 231
Godkin, E. L., 317, 327
"Golden Day, The," Lewis Mumford, 197
Gonzales, William E., 91
Gould, Jay, 151, 182, 250
Grady, Henry, 292
Grand Rapids *Press,* 173
Grange, "Red," 41
Grant, Rev. Percy Stickney, 61
Graphic, London, 183
Graphic, Daily, New York, 181 *et seq.,* 192
Graphic, Evening, New York, 130, 181, 189, 196, 361, 363
Illustration, *Frontispiece*
Greeley, Horace, 162, 250, 264, 295, 309, 328
Griffith, David Wark, 194

Hall-Mills Case, 44, 62, 67, 191, 192
Hamilton, Alexander, xiii, 73, 181, 328, 340, 342
Hamilton, Andrew, 348
Hamilton, Tody, 125
Hammond, Colonel J. S., 129
Hancock, John, 340
Hanna, Mark, 76
Hansen, Blaine, 176
Hapgood, Norman, 94
Harding, Warren G., 78, 264
Harper's Magazine, xi, 183
Harris, Julian, 174
Harrison, Benjamin, 75
Harvey, Colonel George, 190
Havas Agency, 310
Hayne, Robert Young, 74
Hays, Will H., 139, 312
Headlines, 42, 190, 192, 244, 357
Big, first, 42
Hearst, George, 153
Hearst, William Randolph, xvi, 53, 59, 150 *et seq.,* 154, 185, 186, 190, 230, 245, 253, 255, 259, 322, 328
"Heaven-Trees," Stark Young, 65, 67
Herald, Boston, 177, 372
Herald, Evening, Los Angeles, 171
Herald, Louisville, xvi.
Herald, New York, xvi, 49, 51, 151, 160, 164, 191, 195, 233, 252, 261
Founding of, 47
Tribune, Merged with, 250
(see also *Herald Tribune*)
Herald, Syracuse, N. Y., 172
Herald, Washington, 304
Herald Tribune, New York, 36, 64, 106, 123, 126, 132, 191, 250, 263
Herrick, Myron T., 39
Hill, George G., 146
Hirst, George D., 136
"History of Journalism in the

United States," George Henry Payne, 52, 74, 342
Hollingworth, Harry L., 242
Honolulu, 308
Hoover, Herbert, 84, 293, 307, 375
Hopwood, Erie C., 325
Houck, Dr. Knute, 109
Houston *Chronicle*, 291, 304
Post-Dispatch, 304
Press, 276
Howard, Roy W., 256, 270, 277, 285, 290
Howell, Clark, 329
Howells, William Dean, 96, 183
Hughes, Charles Evans, 79
Hughes, Rupert, 228
Human Interest News, 46, 54
Hurd, Carlos F., 279
Huxley, Aldous, 244

Ileana of Rumania, Princess, 58
Illustrations, 42, 124, 180, 188, 190, 192, 241
Making of, 183
(*see* Photographs)
Independent, xi
Independent, Beloit, Wis., 176
Indianapolis *News*, 173, 304
Times, 276, 284, 286, 304
Information, 143
Institute of Journalists, British, 327
Intelligencer (see *National Intelligencer*)
Interborough Rapid Transit Company, 144
International News Service, 305
Interviewing, 104
International News, 81, 255
Introduction, xiii *et seq.*
Irving, Washington, 102
Irwin, Will, 111
Italy, Subsidized Press, 75
Item, New Orleans, 230
Item, Philadelphia, 260
Item-Tribune, New Orleans, 304

Jackson, Andrew, 48, 74, 159
Jackson, Thomas J. ("Stonewall"), 108
James, William, 24, 170
James Boys, 114
Japan, 79
Jay, John, 341
Jefferson City, Missouri, 63
Jefferson, Thomas, xiii, 73, 75, 121, 317, 328, 336, 338, 341, 378
Jeffreys, Judge, 338
Jennings, James, 131
Johns, George S., 90
Johns Hopkins University, 178
Jones, Will Owen, 31
Journal, Atlanta, 304
Journal, Charlotte, N. C., 52
Journal, Chicago, 304
Journal, Dallas, 230, 304
Journal, Milwaukee, 172, 304
Journal, Minneapolis, 173
Journal, Evening, New York, 164, 215, 231, 236
"Journalese," 112
Journalism, Back-scratching, 238
Big Business, as, 245 *et seq.*
Future, 190
Profession, as a, 325
Schools of, xvi, 45, 118, 149, 208, 319
Professional Standard in, 91
Tradition, Professional, 326
Women in, 114
Yellow, 27, 98, 155, 230
Journal of Commerce, New York, 250, 254
Journal-Post, Kansas City, 304
Joyce, Peggy, 194

Kallen, Horace M., xi, 34, 169, 330, 335
Kansas City *Journal-Post*, 304
Post, 276

Kansas City (cont.)
Star, 91, 114, 168, 172, 246, 252, 261
Star-Times, 304
Karger, Gus, 77
Kellogg, Frank B., 81
Kendrick, Senator, 88
Kerensky, Alexander, 106
Klemfuss, Harry C., 127
Knoxville, Crusading in, 282
News, 275, 282
News-Sentinel, 275
Scripps-Howard in, 282
Sentinel, 275, 283
Korzybski, Count Alfred, 110
Ku Klux Klan, 174, 284

Lafayette, Marquis de, 74
Laffan, William M., 111
La Follette, Robert M., 88
Lang, Andrew, 183
Lardner, Ring, 111
Lawson, Victor F., 252, 261, 265
Leader, Pittsburgh, 260
League of Advertising Women, 137
League of Nations, 143, 310
Leahy, Judge David J., 366
Le Bon, Gustave, 34
Lee, Henry ("Light Horse Harry"), 158
Lee, Ivy, 125, 143
Lee, James Melvin, 45
Lee, Robert E., 108
Legal Journal, Pittsburgh, 363
Leviathan, 126
Levine, Charles A., 35
Lewis, Sinclair, 112
Lexington, 95
Libby, Laura Jean, 115
Libel, 63, 248, 249, 366
Missouri, in, 63, 122
Suits, 281, 355
Suppression about suits, 322
Zenger suit, 248, 347
Liberator, 340
Lichauco, Marcial P., 373
Lincoln, Abraham, 121, 143, 336
Lincoln, Nebr., *State Journal*, 31
Lindbergh, Charles A., Senior, 40
Lindbergh, Charles A., Junior, 35 *et seq.*, 356, 370
Illustration, 40
Lingan, General J. M., 158
Lippmann, Walter, 319, 371
Livingstone, David, 101
Lloyd George, David, 105, 228
London, 254, 308
Graphic, 183
Mail, Daily, 163
News, Daily, 104
Pall Mall Gazette, 104
Penny Magazines, 48
Times, 34, 43
Weekly House and Apartment Advertiser, Dalton's, 217
Los Angeles, 38
Examiner, 115
Express, 304
Herald, Evening, 171
Times, 168, 173, 304
Lotteries, 187
Louisiana Purchase, 344
Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 38, 184
Herald, xvi
Lowell, James Russell, 105
Luks, George, 230
Lynett, E. J., 173

McAdams, Clark, 227
McAndrew, William, 108
McCarthy, Justin, 183
McCormick, Medill, 188
McCormick, Colonel R. R., 186
McCullagh, J. B., 42, 104
Macfadden, Bernarr, 181, 189, 191
Mack, Willard, 156, 194
Mackay, Ellin, 55
McKinley, William, 76
McLean, John R., 154

Macon *Telegraph,* 174
McRae, Col. Milton, 273
Madison, James, 159, 341
Madison Square Garden, 129
Magee, Carl C., 288, 366 *et seq.*
Mail, Daily, London, 163
Mail, New York, 188, 261
Maine, 155
"Manhood of Humanity, The," Count Alfred Korzybski, 110
Marconi, Guglielmo, 295
Marie of Roumania, Queen, 45, 71, 125, 126
Markey, Judge Arthur, 358
Martin, Everett Dean, 34, 92
Martinelli, Giovanni, 296
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 141, 308
"Meaning of a Liberal Education, The," Everett Dean Martin, 92
Mellett, Don, 176
Mellon, Andrew W., 84
Memphis, 39, 356
Memphis, 65
  Commercial-Appeal, 174
  News-Scimitar, 275
  Press, 275
  Press-Scimitar, 275
Mencken, H. L., 321
Merchandising, 185
  Kinds of, 223
  Radio, by, 296
Merrill, Bradford, 154
Mexican War, 160
Mexico, 81
Miami, 140
Miller, F. A., 176
"Million and One Nights: The History of the Motion Picture, A," Terry Ramsaye, 141
Milton, John, 339, 378
Milwaukee *Journal,* 172, 304
Minneapolis, 38, 260
  Journal, 173
Mirror, Daily, New York, 36, 64, 107, 130, 189, 191, 322
Missouri, University of, xvi, 208
Missouri Compromise, 74
Missouri Valley Conference, 369
Monroe, James, 74
Morality, Changing, 150 *et seq.*
  Hearst, 150
  Ochs, 90, 150
  Pulitzer, 150
  Test of Press, 179
Morgan, J. Pierpont, 68, 152
Morse, Samuel F. B., 295
Motion Pictures, 312
Mumford, Lewis, 197
Muncie, Ind., *Post-Democrat,* 286
Munsey, Frank A., 185, 219, 252, 260, 328
"My Own Story," Fremont Older, 330

Napoleon I, Emperor, 44
Nashville *Banner,* 359
Nation, The, xi, 104, 184
National Broadcasting Company, 310
National Educational Association, 202
National Institute of Social Sciences, 168
National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser, Washington, 73
National Journal, Washington, 74
Neally, A. W., 136
Nelson, William R., 246, 261
New Orleans, 65, 126, 182, 230, 255
  Influence of, xv
  Item, 230
  Item-Tribune, 304
  States, 329
  Tribune, Morning, 230
News, Advertising and, 237
  Agencies, 310
  Aviation, 35, 136, 165, 269, 370

News, Advertising and, (cont.)
Business, 32, 42, 211, 212
"Canned," 107, 165
Confidential, 354
Courier, by, 199
Crime, 29, 42, 44, 48, 59, 100, 169, 191 *et seq.*, 211, 212, 364
Distribution of, 270
Divorce, 47
Dramatic, 111
Exploration, 165
Faking, 98, 109
Finance, 51
Foreign, 42, 81, 267, 305
Gathering Facilities, 161, 255 *et seq.*, 269
Human Interest, 46, 54
Influence of Advertisers on, 221
Kinds of, 200
Politics, 42, 48, 54, 83, 212
Primitive Service, 199
Prohibition, 202, 288, 373
Religion, 27, 175, 202
Reviewing, 111
Science, 22, 110, 135, 138, 141, 178
Sex, 21
Sport, 31, 41, 44, 111, 129 *et seq.*, 202, 211, 240, 373
Subordination of, 232
Suppression of, 202, 313, 359
Values, 21, 24, 27, 45
Variety of, 206
Vice, 191, 363
War, 156, 160, 188
Washington, 85
News, Baltimore, 261, 304, 367
News, Birmingham, 173
News, Daily, Canton, Ohio, 176
News, Daily, Chicago, 106, 168, 218, 237, 252, 265, 304, 355, 360
News, Dallas, 252, 360
News, Detroit, 29, 31, 304
News, Indianapolis, 173, 304
News, Knoxville, 275, 282
News, Daily, London, 104
News, Daily, New York, 36, 58, 106, 130, 186 *et seq.*, 196, 252, 263
News, Oklahoma City, 276
News, Philadelphia, 260
News, San Francisco, 276
News, Soperton, Ga., 175
News, Washington, 276
News-Bee, Toledo, 276
New School for Social Research, New York, xi
"Newspaper and Authority, The," Lucy Maynard Salmon, 363
Newspaper Enterprise Association, 282, 289
Newspapers (*see* Press, The)
Newsprint, Production of, 267
Rubber for, 374
News-Scimitar, Memphis, 275
News-Sentinel, Knoxville, 275
New York, 35, 36, 38, 49, 106, 122, 135, 260
American, 36, 59, 106, 186, 190, 192
Commercial and Advertiser, 52, 254
Continent, Daily, 185
Courier and Enquirer, 51
Editor and Publisher, 32, 130, 179, 217, 259, 262, 299, 326, 361, 368
Globe, 219, 261
Graphic, Daily, 181 *et seq.*, 192
Graphic, Evening, 130, 181, 189, 196, 361, 363
Herald, xvi, 47, 49, 51, 151, 160, 164, 191, 195, 233, 250, 252, 261
Herald Tribune, 36, 64, 106, 123, 126, 132, 191, 250, 263
Influence of, xv
Journal, Evening, 164, 215, 231
Journal of Commerce, 250, 254
Mail, 188, 261
Mirror, Daily, 36, 64, 107, 130, 189, 191, 322

New York (cont.)
News, Daily, 36, 58, 106, 130, 186 *et seq.,* 196, 252, 263
Police Gazette, 363
Post, Evening, 52, 60, 94, 107, 183, 189, 231, 263, 317, 327, 374
Press, 261
Social Register, 56
Staats-Zeitung, 254
Star (see *Continent, Daily*)
Sun, 49, 96, 101, 112, 123, 137, 151, 188, 195, 231, 235, 250, 252, 261, 266
Telegram, 38, 252, 253, 275, 291, 301
Times, xvi, 33, 36, 39, 44, 56, 58, 64, 84, 89, 101, 106, 118, 123, 125, 150, 164, 184, 188, 192, 195, 202, 205, 215, 229, 237, 250, 253, 277, 372, 375
Tribune, xvi, 101, 162, 187, 195, 207, 246, 250, 246, 261, 324, 328, 354, 355
Wall Street Journal, 88
Weekly Journal, 348
Women's Wear, 126, 185
World, xvi, 29, 33, 36, 38, 54, 58, 61, 64, 99, 106, 135, 151 *et seq.,* 162, 164, 183, 185, 194, 207, 212, 231, 250, 263, 323, 358, 362, 371, 375
New York City Bar Association, 365
New York Publishers Association, 329
New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, 363
New York State Crime Commission, 144, 324
"Nineteenth Century and After," 226
Nonpartisan League, 167
Norris, Kathleen, 228
North American, Philadelphia, 252, 260
North American Review, xi
Northcliffe, Lord, 163, 185, 187, 303

Ochs, Adolph S., xvi, 90, 150 *et seq.,* 164, 229, 250, 253, 261, 328
O'Dunne, Judge Eugene, 367
O'Hara, Barratt, 333
Ohio State Journal, 37
Oklahoma City, 38
News, 276
Oklahoman, Daily, 172
Oklahoma Times, 172
Older, Fremont, 330 *et seq.*
Olds, Robert E., 81
"On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," William James, 170
Oregon, University of, 325
Otis, John, 340
Outcault, R. F., 230

Paine, Robert, 271
Pall Mall Gazette, London, 104
Paris, 35, 39, 47
Patriot, 340
Patterson, Captain J. M., 186
Payne, George Henry, 52, 74, 342
Payne, John Howard, 157
Payne, Philip A., 189
Peary, Robert E., 165
Pennsylvania Gazette, Franklin's, 245, 348
Penny-Dreadfuls, London, 65
Penny Press, Cleveland, 271
Pew, Marlen, 102
Philadelphia, 51, 73, 202, 258, 340
Aurora, 160
Influence of, xv
Item, 260
News, 260
North American, 252, 260
Pennsylvania Gazette, 245, 346
Penny Paper, First, 48
Press, 77
Public Ledger, 77, 246

Philadelphia (cont.)
Record, 359
Telegraph, 260
Philippine Islands, 221
Exploitation by Press, 373
Independence Movement, 373, 374
Rubber, Value of, 373
Stevenson Act, 373
Phillips, David Graham, 111
Photographs, 62, 65, 68, 98, 126, 127, 163, 188
Rotogravure Sections, 241
Unauthorized, 68, 367, 378
Pickford, Mary, 128
Pinckney, Charles, 341
Pittsburgh *Dispatch,* 260
Leader, 260
Legal Journal, 363
Post, 304
Press, 276, 289, 304
Plain Dealer, Cleveland, 169, 325
Plain Talk, xi
Police Gazette, New York, 363
Political Campaigns, xvii
Political News, 42, 48, 54, 83, 212
Rank of, 212
Polk, James K., 160
Pope, Alexander, 339
Portland, Maine, *Express, Evening,* 360
Post, Baltimore, 276, 367
Post, Birmingham, 276
Post, Boston, 202
Post, Evening, Chicago, 355
Post, Cincinnati, 36, 276
Post, Covington, Ky., 276
Post, Denver, 89, 90, 276, 357
Illustration, 126
Post, El Paso, 276, 366
Post, Kansas City, 276
Post, Evening, New York, 52, 60, 94, 107, 183, 189, 231, 263, 317, 327, 374
Post, Pittsburgh, 304
Post, Terre Haute, 276, 284
Post, Washington, 38
Post-Democrat, Muncie, Ind., 286
Post-Dispatch, Houston, 304
Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, xvi, 28, 38, 62, 89, 90, 151, 173, 183, 208, 250, 270, 279, 304, 372
Post-Intelligencer, Seattle, 304
Powers, T. E., 154
Presbrey Advertising Agency, 212
Press, The,
Advertisers' Influence on, 220
Afternoon, 234
Agents, 23, 97, 103, 122 *et seq.,* 200
Attacks on, 369
Campaigns in, 171 *et seq.*
"Cases," 201
Chain, 259 *et seq.,* 269 *et seq.*
Church, Similar to, 316 *et seq.*
Colonial, 339
Competition, 293
Corruption, and, 92
Criticism of, 169, 319 *et seq.*
Crusaders, as, 51, 152, 169, 175, 282, 291, 331, 371
Daily, Number of, 262
Distrust of, 224, 326
Earnings, 254
Economies, 259
Editions, Multiple, 234
Education and the, 197
Extras, 204
Fiscal Affairs of, 250
Good-will Value, 251
Government and the, 84
Hamilton's Influence, 342
Improvement, Need for, 378
Income Taxes, 345
Individual Ownership, 263 *et seq.*
Information Suppressed, 323
Intimidation, Attempted, 354
Jefferson's Influence, 342
Junkerism and the, 313
Labor and the, 273
Law, and the, 364

Press, The (cont.)
Machinery for the, 246
Mergers, 260, 274
Monopoly, 257
Morning, 234, 260
Penny, 48, 51
Philippines, on the, 373
Politics and the, 264, 282 *et seq.*, 330
Prices, 48 *et seq.*, 151, 181
Priestliness in the, 316 *et seq.*
Privacy, invasion of, 46 *et seq.*, 333, 378
Public Opinion, as, 335
Public Opinion and the, 196
Radio a Menace, 295 *et seq.*
Religion, and Orthodox, 316
Religion of, 336
Reporters, 94 *et seq.*
Revenue, Sources of, 213
Salaries, 118, 132, 249
Sensationalism, 192
Services of, 171
Size Forecast, 244
Slogans, 340
Standardization, 293
State, and, 353 *et seq.*
Stock, Value of, 253
Strike, 169
Subscription lists, 249
Subsidy, government, 73, 247, 349
Suits against, 191, 347, 354, 366, 367
Sunday, 28, 162, 184
Tabloid, 180
Tendencies, 164
Wars, 154, 187, 277, 280, 322
Wealth of, 186, 215
Weeklies, Independent, 313
Yellow, 27
(*see also* Sunday Paper)
Press, Cleveland, 271, 276
Press, Evansville, Ind., 276, 284 287
Press, Fort Worth, 276
Press, Grand Rapids, 173
Press, Houston, 276
Press, Philadelphia, 77
Press, Memphis, 275
Press, New York, 261
Press, Pittsburgh, 276, 289, 304
Press-Scimitar, Memphis, 275
Printemps, Yvonne, 125
Privacy, Invasion of, 46 *et seq.*, 333, 378
Probert, L. C., 82
Prohibition News, 202, 288, 373
Propaganda, 121, 164, 177, 340
Psychology, 34, 64, 127
Publicity, "Canned," 107
Directors, 23, 122, 141
Free, 32, 121 *et seq.*, 136, 149, 224, 240, 297, 361
Value of, 105
Public Ledger, Philadelphia, 77, 246
Publishers Association of New York City, 129
Pulitzer, Albert, 153
Pulitzer, Joseph, xvi, 26, 150 *et seq.*, 154, 183, 185, 190, 230, 250, 270, 322, 375
Crusades of, 152
World purchased, 52
Pulitzer, Ralph, 153
Pulitzer School of Journalism, 118

Quezon, Manuel, 375

Radio, The, 22, 98, 295 *et seq.*
Advertising, and, 296
Associations, 307
Broadcasting, 310
Censorship, 305
Developments, Future, 309
England, in, 303
Federal Commission, 312
Future of, 312
Monopoly in, 310
Newspaper, first, 308
Program expenses, 311
Programs, 299

Radio (cont.)
Regulation of, 307
Russia, in, 303
Scope of, 305
Service of, 296
Radio Corporation of America, 135, 311
Ralph, Julian, 96
Ramsaye, Terry, xi, 141
Ratcliffe, Samuel K., 244
Record, Philadelphia, 359
Red Cross, 134, 171
Reed, James A., 285
Reid, Whitelaw, 184, 264
Religious News, 27, 175, 202
Remington, Frederic, 155
Reno, 359
Republic, St. Louis, xvi
Republican, St. Louis, 208
Republican, Springfield, 257
Revere, Paul, 95
Revolutionary War, 48, 157
Reporters, 94 *et seq.*
Adventures of, 114
Detectives, as, 99
Exclusion of, 349
Murder Trials, on, 194
New, the, 333
Stunts of, 101
Women, 114
Reuter's Agency, 310
Rickard, Tex, 129
Riddell, Lord, 303
Ridder, Bernard, 254
Ridder, Herman, 254
Ridder, Joseph, 254
Ridder, Victor, 254
Rinehart, Mary Roberts, 194
"Rise of American Civilization, The," Charles and Mary Beard, 159, 339
Robbins, Rev. Howard Chandler, 319
Robinson, Senator, 285
Rochester, N. Y., 172
Rockefeller, John D., Sr., 101, 114, 144
Rocky Mountain News, Denver, 89, 90, 275, 277
Rogers, Henry H., 68
Rogers, Jason, 218
Rogers, Millicent, 59
Rogers, Will, 131
Roosevelt, Theodore, 76, 358
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 339
Rubber, American Institute, 375
Philippine, 373
Ruef, Abe, 330
Runyon, Damon, 111, 241
Russell, Major Benjamin, 47
Ruth, "Babe," 33, 41, 124

Sacco-Vanzetti Case, 177
Sage, Russell, 99
St. Louis, 260
Globe-Democrat, xvi, 38, 42, 91, 177
Influence of, xv
Post-Dispatch, xvi, 28, 38, 62, 89, 90, 151, 173, 183, 208, 250, 270, 279, 304, 372
Republic, xvi
Republican, 208
Star, 171, 304
St. Paul, 260
Salesmanship, 21 *et seq.,* 63, 223
Salmon, Lucy Maynard, 363
Salvation Army, 134
San Antonio, 255
Express & News, 304
San Diego *Sun,* 276
San Francisco, 182, 330
Bulletin, 252, 330
Call, 38, 172, 304, 333
Chronicle, 250, 304
Examiner, 153
Influence of, xv
News, 276
Saturday Evening Post, 228
Schenectady *Express,* 359
Schlink, F. J., 223
Schmitz, Eugene E., 332
Scientific News, 22, 110, 135, 138, 141, 178

Scott, General, 160
Scribner's Magazine, 183
Scripps, Edward W., 256, 270, 275, 290
Scripps, Robert P., Jr., 274, 290
Scripps-Howard group, 82, 102, 132, 186, 253, 255, 259, 269 *et seq.*, 357, 372
  Beginning of, 269
  Economic Management, 292
  Employé Partnership, 290
  Klan, Fight against, 284
  McRae Papers, 270, 273
  Methods, 270 *et seq.*
  Power of, 290
  Prohibition, and, 288
  Radio, and, 301
Scripps-McRae (*see* Scripps-Howard)
Seattle, 38, 185, 255
  Post-Intelligencer, 304
Sedition Act of 1798, 158, 344
Seitz, Don C., 156, 207, 231
Sells-Floto Circus, 278
Sensationalism, 188, 194
Sentinel, Knoxville, 275, 283
Sex News, 21
Shaffer, John C., 90, 276
Sharkey, Jack, 129
Sharp, R. E., 366
Shaw, George Bernard, 113
Showmanship, 21 *et seq.*, 47, 279
Siddons, Justice Frederick L., 70
Sinclair, Harry F., 36, 89, 91, 280
Sinsheimer, Allen, 222
Smith, Governor Alfred E., 202
Smith, Samuel Harrison, 73
Smoot, Reed, 228
Snyder-Gray Case, 44, 156, 194, 370
"Social Contract," Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 339
Social Register, New York, 56
Soperton, Ga., *News,* 175
Sorel, Mlle. Cecile, 124
South Bend, Ind., *Tribune,* 176
Spanish-American War, xiv, 43, 155 *et seq.*, 162
Spas, Mary, 62, 63
Spokane, xv
Sport News, 31, 41, 44, 111, 129 *et seq.*, 202, 211, 240, 373
"Spread Eagle," 306, 312
Springfield, Mass., 257, 293
  Republican, 257
Squatter Sovereign, 340
Staats-Zeitung, New York, 254
Stack, Leo, 89
Standardization, 255, 258, 293
Standard Oil Company of Indiana, 147
Stanley, Henry M., 46, 47, 66, 101
Stanhope, Aubrey, 46
Star, Baltimore, 261
Star, Kansas City, 91, 114, 168, 172, 246, 252, 261
Star, New York (see *Continent, Daily*)
Star, St. Louis, 171, 304
Star, Washington, 38, 298
Star-Times, Kansas City, 304
State, Columbia, S. C., 91
State Journal, Lincoln, Nebr., 31
State Tribune, Albuquerque, N. M., 276, 288, 366
States, New Orleans, 329
Steele, Richard, 339
Stefani Agency, Italy, 310
Steffens, Lincoln, 95
Stephenson, D. C., 284
Stevenson, Robert Louis, 183
Stillman, James A., Jr., 56
Stillman, Mrs. James A., 57
Stillman Divorce Case, 360
Stimson, Henry L., 357
Stockberger, Dr. Donald G., 141
Stone, Melville E., 163
Storey, Moorfield, 373
"Story of Philosophy, The," Will Durant, 44
Stout, Ralph, 91

Straton, Rev. John Roach 174, 194
Strikes, 27
  Press Room, 169
Strong, Walter A., 307
Sumner, John S., 363
Sun, Baltimore, 28, 37, 367
Sun, San Diego, 276
Sun, New York, 49, 96, 101, 111, 123, 137, 151, 188, 195, 231, 235, 250, 252, 261, 266
Sunday, Billy, 194
Sunday Advertiser, Boston, 236
Sunday Papers, Advertising and, 234
  Advertising Space, 226
  Book Reviews, 237
  Bulk of, 226
  Churches and the, 233
  Circulation, Aggregate, 241
  Features, 227
  First, 233
  Influence of, 226
  Numbers Published, 226
  Origin of, 162
  Rotogravure Sections, 241
  Supplements, 185
  "Want Ads," 240
  Wrapper of, Early, 233
Swift, Jonathan, 339
Swope, Herbert Bayard, 211
Syndicates, xv, 229, 258, 282, 289
Syracuse, N. Y., *Herald,* 172

Tables, News Percentages, 208, 211
  Number of Papers, 262
  Wordage, 192
Tabloid Picture Papers, 180 *et seq.*
  Advertising and, 245
  Headlines, 190
  Success of, 186
Tabloids (not Picture Papers), 128, 163, 185
  Advertising in, 181
  Crusaders, as, 195
  First, 181
  Format of, 184
Taft, Charles P., 77, 329
Taft, Henry W., 365, 373
Taft, William H., 77
Talley, Marion, 139
Tammany, 150
Tammen, Harry H., 89, 91, 276, 281, 328
Tarbell, Ida, 103
Tarde, Gabriel de, 34
Taylor, C. H., Jr., 133
Teachers of Journalism, Association of, 117
Teapot Dome Scandal, 36, 54, 87, 280, 378
Telegram, New York, 38, 252, 253, 275, 291, 301
Telegram, Youngstown, Ohio, 276
Telegraph, Macon, 174
Telegraph, Philadelphia, 260
Terre Haute *Post,* 276, 284
Thompson, Carmi, 374
Thompson, James M., 230
Thompson, William Hale, 354
"Through Many Windows," Helen Woodward, 212
Tiglath-Pileser, 199
Times, Buffalo, 200
Times, Chattanooga, 250
Times, Detroit, 236
Times, Indianapolis, 276, 284, 286, 304
Times, London, 34, 43
Times, Los Angeles, 168, 173, 304
Times, New York, xvi, 33, 36, 39, 44, 56, 58, 84, 89, 101, 106, 123, 125, 150, 164, 184, 188, 192, 195, 202, 205, 237, 277, 372, 375
  Building, 184
  Expenses, Annual, 215
  Feature Stuff, 229
  Headlines, Comparative, 64
  Purchase of, 250, 253
  Wealth of, 168
Times-Star, Bridgeport, Conn., 58

Times-Star, Cincinnati, 77, 304, 329
Titanic, 21
Tocqueville, Alexis Charles de, 47, 53
Toledo *News-Bee,* 276
Transcript, Evening, Boston, 304
Tree of Liberty, 340
Tribune, Chicago, 28, 109, 115, 172, 186, 188, 203, 229, 277, 298, 304, 319, 355
Illustration, 228
Tribune, Morning, New Orleans, 230
Tribune, New York, xvi, 101, 187, 195, 207, 246, 261, 324, 328, 354, 355
Civil War, and, 162
Herald, Merged with, 250
Purchase of, 250
(see also *Herald Tribune*)
Tribune, South Bend, 176
Trotter, William, 34
Truth, Elkhart, Ind., 36
Tunney, Gene, 44, 131
Tweed, Boss, 150

Union, 340
United Press, 81, 115, 270, 282, 289, 304, 357
Extent of, 269
United States Telegraph, Washington, 74
Utica, xv

Valentino, Rudolph, 34, 127
Van Anden, Isaac, 250
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, Jr., 67, 253
Vanderlip, Frank A., 374
Verne, Jules, 101
Vice News, 191
Vincennes, Ind., *Commercial,* 284
"Voice of the People, The," 335

Wagner, Jacob, 157
Walker, Stanley, 123
Wall Street, 48, 136, 152, 166, 170, 221, 253
Explosion in, 100
Wall Street Journal, New York, 88
War, Civil, 161, 233
1812, 74, 157
Mexican, 160
Revolutionary, 48, 157
Spanish-American, xiv, 43, 155 *et seq.,* 162
World, xiv, 21, 43, 134, 163, 171, 214, 263, 266, 310, 347, 358
War of 1812, 74, 157
War News, 156, 160, 188
Warner, Charles Dudley, 183
Warren, Joseph, 340
Washington, George, 305
Washington, 40, 85, 122, 186, 202, 314, 338, 349
Censorship, 74
Conferences, Presidential, 78, 356
Congressional Globe, 74
Correspondents, 73 *et seq.,* 140
Federalist, 73
Herald, 304
Influence of, xv
National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser, 73
National Journal, 74
News, 276
Post, 38
Reporters, Exclusion of, 349
Star, 38, 298
United States Telegraph, 74
Waterloo, Battle of, 43
Watson, Senator, 285
Watterson, Henry, 184, 292, 328
Webb, James Watson, 51
Webster, Daniel, 74, 84, 159, 344
Weeklies, Independent, 313
Weekly House and Apartment Advertiser, Dalton's (London), 217

Weekly Journal, New York, 348
Wellington, Duke of, 43
West, Rebecca, 281
Westinghouse Electric Company, 311
Weston, S. P., 214
White, William Allen, 168, 329, 368
Whiteman, Paul, 198
"Why Is Your Country at War," Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., 40
"Why Religion," Horace M. Kallen, 169, 330
Wilcox, Delos F., 208, 353, 370
Wile, Dr. Ira S., 23
Wiley, Louis, 205
William II, Kaiser, 44, 228
Wilmington, 146
Wilson, Woodrow, 38, 76, 78, 354
Windsor Castle, 142
Women, Influence on Advertisers, 235
  Journalism, in, 114
  Ohio Newspaper Women's Association, 116
  Prejudice against, 115
  Sob-Sisters, 115
Women's Wear, New York, 126, 185
Wolff Agency, Germany, 310
Wood, Henry A. Wise, 244
Wood, General Leonard, 163, 376
Woodward, Helen, 212
Woollcott, Alexander, 111
Wordage, 192, 194
World, New York, xvi, 33, 36, 38, 54, 58, 61, 64, 106, 135, 151 *et seq.,* 162, 164, 183, 194, 207, 212, 231, 263, 358, 362, 371, 375
  Bureau of Accuracy and Fair Play, 323
  Detective Reporting, 99
  Feature Stuff, 29
  Northcliffe, Issue by, 185
  Purchase of, 250
World War, xiv, 21, 43, 44, 134, 163, 171, 214, 263, 266, 347, 358
Wright Brothers, 269

Yale Review, xi
Yellow Journalism, 98, 155, 230
  Origin of, 230
Yonkers, xv
Yost, Casper S., 91
Young, Stark, 65
Young Men's Christian Association, 134
Youngstown, Ohio, *Telegram,* 276
"Your Money's Worth," Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, 223

Zaleski, M., 310
Zenger, John Peter, 245, 248, 340
  Libel suit, 347, 365